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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

ISRAELI AGRICULTURAL EXHIBIT--A large delegation from Morocco has arrived in Israel to attend the exhibit of agricultural machines, "Agritech 81," which opened yesterday at the fair grounds in Tel Aviv. Other delegations have also arrived from black African countries which do not have diplomatic relations with Israel, such as Zambia, Swaziland, Botswana, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Kenya, Ethiopia, Malawi and Zaire. Report by Aharon Pri'el. [Excerpt] [TA151256 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 15 Sep 81 p 10]

EL AL AIDING HAITI--The El Al Airline is aiding Haiti in establishing an airline. Israel's national airline has signed an agreement with the Haitian Government whereby El Al will help set up a national airline on the Caribbean island. El Al pilots and technicians will be employed by the Haitian airline. In the first stage El Al will extend advice to the new airline but after it is set up El Al will be actively involved in its operation. El Al will thus be able to expand its operation and open new lines to Central America. [TA092051 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 9 Sep 81]

DPRK SUPPLIES TO PLO--Copenhagen, 13 Sep (exclusive)--North Korea has sold the PLO an unspecified number of long-range cannons (122 to 130 mm in range). A Swedish correspondent who had been invited to tour PLO bases has said that such weapons have been displayed, and he saw them. Report by Scandinavia-based correspondent, Eliyahu Zehavi. [Text] [TA141211 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 4323/67

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### PLO CENTRAL COUNCIL MEMBER DISCUSSES CEASEFIRE

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 26 Jul 81 p 3

[Article: Press Conference held by Abu-'Adnan member of the PLO Central Council: "The Zionist Plot Will Continue, and the Ceasefire Does Not Mean the End of War"]

[Text] Abu-'Adnan, member of the PLO Central Council warned that the Zionist plot against the Palestinians and Arabs will continue. It may take a diplomatic form after the ceasefire between the Palestinian revolution and the Zionist enemy. He said that the PLO acceptance of ceasefire across the Lebanese borders does not mean ending the war against the Zionist enemy.

In a press conference held by Abu-'Adnan at the PLO Headquarters in Kuwait, and attended by 'Awni Bitash, director of PLO office, he demanded that the Arabs take a decisive position and threaten to withdraw Arab funds from the United States and Europe. He also asked the Arabs to use the oil weapon against those countries and limit the trade exchange between such countries and the Arab nations.

Abu-'Adnan indicated that the ceasefire between the Zionist enemy and PLO will be an opportunity for a Palestinian action aimed at reorganizing the revolutionary forces, compensating for lost arms and ammunition, and supporting its forces with new weapons which will give the PLO the ability for strong retaliation if the Israeli aggression resumes.

Abu-'Adnan stated that 30 years had elapsed since Palestine was usurped. During that period, many conferences were held and many resolutions issued which were not translated into action. Any new resolution will not increase our optimism. He said that the Palestinian resistance does not expect Israel to adhere to the ceasefire resolution, and the plot will continue according to a carrot and stick policy.

The Palestinian official denied that the installation of Syrian missiles around the Lebanese capital of Beirut requires an approval from the Soviet Union. He asserted that Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, notified the Lebanese National Movement delegation that such action first needed the approval of the Lebanese state. Then Abu-'Adnan mentioned that Kuwait can play a political role within the framework of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front.

## The Plot Is Being Renewed

At the beginning of the conference, Abu-'Adnan said that the Palestinian revolution has been living since 1975 in the shadow of a plot being renewed on a daily basis. Numerous tools are being used as part of an American-Zionist plan. He mentioned that Israel does not recognize the Palestinian people and this is confirmed by Israeli insistence on considering Gaza Strip and the West Bank as inseparable parts of Israel. The recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by 112 nations put Israel in a critical situation.

The Palestinian official talked about the mission of the American envoy Philip Habib. He said that the mission is a continuation of the plot, but within the framework of diplomatic efforts, because the United States fears open confrontation lest it should lead to an explosion in the area, the loss of Egypt, and of all the Camp David achievements. Therefore, the present mission of Philip Habib came to existence. That mission has a goal which is not yet revealed. That goal is to employ Zionist strikes in the interest of American strategy in the Middle East region.

## Three Stages

Speaking of the Israeli-Palestinian war in Lebanon, Abu-'Adnan said: "This war has been through three stages--at its beginning the Israeli enemy concentrated on hitting the bases of the Palestinian revolution in southern Lebanon in order to confuse and disperse the Palestinians, as well as inflicting heavy human losses."

He went on to say: "When Israel imagined that it had achieved that goal, it was determined to carry out the second stage of its plan, that is the war of bridges, aiming at putting the Palestinian fighter in a psychologically weak position that affects his morale. Then it jumped to the third stage, which was the attack on the headquarters of the Palestinian leadership in the most densely populated areas in Beirut."

He said that Israel used 500-pound American made bombs in that raid, which did not show any compassion for civilians. He again asserted that the three stages of that war raised the morale of the Palestinian fighter considerably, and the reason was that the fighter possessed the will to retaliate, face the aggression and destroy the Zionist colonies. For the first time, the children in Beirut were equal with the children in the Zionist settlements. As fear spread among people in Beirut and southern Lebanon, it dominated the population of the Zionist settlements too. As we suffered losses in Lebanon, they had losses in the settlements as well.

He stated that the losses for the resistance were high indeed and the Israeli strike was very devastating.

## Palestinian Plan

Abu-'Adnan added that there is a Palestinian plan to strengthen the military power of the Palestinian revolution during the ceasefire period between Israel



and the PLO. He said: "We do not expect that the enemy will adhere to the ceasefire agreement because Israel and America will resort to diplomatic means to liquidate the resistance. The American envoy, Philip Habib is trying to create a fluid situation so that the American plot can go through, otherwise the plot will be renewed one way or another, through the internal machinery in Lebanon and the mobilization of Sa'd Haddad in southern Lebanon."

Abu-'Adnan demanded that the American envoy be expelled from the region, that the Arab States take a unified stand to confront Israel, restrict commerce with imperialist countries, withdraw Arab funds from imperialist countries, and use the oil weapon.

#### The War Decision Is Not in the Hands of Egypt or Israel

The Palestinian official mentioned that the missiles and guns of the Palestinian revolution had the power to force Israel to accept the ceasefire. He indicated that the war decision is not in the hands of Egypt or Israel as Sadat claims, but the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese National Movement can make such a decision. The recent battles and the Syrian missile crisis in the Biga' proved that Syria is able to take the war decision with the support of the Arab nation.

Abu-'Adnan earnestly called upon all Arab regimes to take the initiative to support the Palestinian resistance by all means that will enable the resistance to confront the enemy's weapons. With regard to the Arab Joint Defense Council resolution passed last Thursday night in Tunis, Abu-'Adnan said: "The application has been and will remain the only thing that counts. Based upon our experience, we expect that the resolution will have the same fate as others even more serious passed before, such as the Baghdad Summit resolutions."

He indicated that the Sudanese minister of defense should have been expelled from the emergency meeting of the Council because Sudan fights against the policy of the organization and Sudan acts within the framework of Camp David accords with the Egyptian regime.

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CSO: 3404/112

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLO OFFICIAL VIEWS FRENCH STAND ON PALESTINIANS

PM140847 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 12-18 Sep 81 pp 27-29

[Interview granted by PLO representative in Paris Ibrahim al-Sus to al-Majallah correspondent in Paris--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] How do you view the French stand on the Palestine problem following the Socialist Party's accession to power?

[Answer] In fact we cannot yet judge the stand of the new French regime toward our cause because the Socialist Party is new to power and has not yet had the time to formulate a comprehensive and clear foreign policy. But the indications of its attitude so far prompt me to say that it is not adequate as far as we are concerned. The new French officials clearly admit that the Palestinian people have a right to establish an independent state of their own--which no doubt is a step further than the attitude of the previous regime, which merely recognized that the Palestinians have a full right to self-determination--but, on the other hand, they allege that the PLO is not the sole representative of the Palestinian people. We have told those officials--including Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson--that if the PLO is not the sole representative of the Palestinian people, who is the other representative? Of course, they had no answer to our question. Some of them believe that leaders of the occupied territories could be partners with the PLO in representing the Palestinian people. But the West Bank leaders who were expelled last year assured the French that they are under the PLO flag.

[Question] But French Minister of External Relations Claude Cheysson often declared that France's refusal to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people does not mean that France considers that there is another representative of the Palestinian people. What is your opinion?

[Answer] Therefore let Mr Cheysson clearly say that the PLO, which is recognized by 117 countries, is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and let him not create the legal obstacles which he is now using as an excuse. The international recognition we enjoy is a precedent in international diplomatic law.

[Question] How do you evaluate the meeting in Beirut between Yasir 'Arafat and French Minister Claude Cheysson?



[Answer] The meeting was of extreme importance in that it enabled the French minister of external relations to hear from the Palestinian revolution leader details of the PLO stand and strategy for the achievement of a comprehensive solution based on the Palestinian people's right, particularly their right to establish an independent state of their own and to return to their homeland. The importance of the meeting lies in the fact that it has deepened the current dialogue between us and France that has been going on for years. It took place at Cheysson's request. What we are hoping for now is that France will take practical measures for the materialization of this stand.

[Question] It appears that the new French regime supports the Camp David agreement more than the previous regime did.

[Answer] Before coming to power the French Socialist Party supported the Camp David agreement out of its belief that it is a step toward a comprehensive peace in the area. Now that the whole world has realized that this agreement cannot be the key to a solution of the Middle East crisis, French officials are emphasizing what they call the positive atmosphere it has created. But such a claim is groundless because all that the agreement did was to isolate Egypt from the Arab world, thus achieving Israel's objectives. With regard to the autonomy issue, some in the French leadership believe that it is a step toward the independence of the Palestinian people. These people cite as a historical example France's experiment in North Africa. We tell them that such examples do not apply to our situation and that we cannot accept less than a fully sovereign state.

[Question] Recently there was a change in France's view of the Camp David agreement in that during his recent Arab tour Claude Cheysson affirmed that this agreement is absolutely insufficient to ensure a comprehensive solution. What is your comment?

[Answer] We have noted with satisfaction Claude Cheysson's remarks on Camp David. He expressed certain reservations when he said that France believes that Camp David has been unable to secure a solution to the Palestine problem, which is the central issue. There is no doubt that this stand is even better than that of the previous French regime and allows us to be optimistic in that Cheysson stressed that what must be solved first is the Palestinian problem.

[Question] What about the European initiative, in which France played a major role and which now seems to have reached a dead end?

[Answer] We waited in vain for a serious European initiative, but in the end we found that a united European stand is imaginary. Previously they used to tell us to wait for the development of the stand of this or that country, and that there are efforts to drive a certain country in this direction. But we despaired of all this, and the European envoy's recent tour was mere talk. From now on we will refuse to let anybody talk to us about a European initiative because it will not happen. What we want now is not a united European stand but a clear stand from every European country individually.

CSO: 4304/169

## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**EXPANDING ACTIVITIES IN GAZA STRIP**--Egypt has been recently expanding its activities in the territories, especially in the Gaza Strip with the aim of broadening its sphere of influence in the area. In this respect, Egypt has been taking initiatives in the spheres of economy, education and communications. Our correspondent Bassam Ja'Bar spoke today with public figures in the Gaza Strip. [Begin Ja'Bar recording] The expansion of Egypt's activities in the territories and especially in the Gaza Strip has found its expression in several recent moves which may constitute some kind of pressure on the inhabitants to support its peace policy. To date, Egypt has insisted on its refusal to accept students from the Gaza Strip to its universities so long as a delegation of dignitaries from the Gaza Strip does not come forward in support of President al-Sadat. Egypt has recently also opened economic possibilities to all the dignitaries expressing their identification with its political moves. The Egyptian authorities also allow these people free passage into and within Egypt. Egypt has recently announced its intention to set up a television station in al-'Arish. There are certain circles in Gaza that believe this move is also designed to increase Egypt's influence on the inhabitants of the Gaza Strip. [Text] [TA101858 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 10 Sep 81]

**ISRAELI BANKS TRANSFER PLO FUNDS**--Without being aware of it, Israeli banks in Israel and overseas serve as middlemen for transferring funds from the PLO and its supporters to Arab elements in East Jerusalem, Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. The military government is currently tackling this issue. It has been learned that regulations will soon be published on the procedures for receiving funds from foreign sources and reporting on them to the military government. It has been learned from Arab sources that even before restrictions were imposed on bringing in funds which were suspected to originate from the PLO's coffers, public institutions and private persons used Israeli banks that have branches throughout the world. Recently, the need has increased for using these banks and the methods were also improved for transferring funds by legal means. Security elements last night noted that they are aware of this loophole as well as of people in the territories who have checkbooks from foreign banks overseas where funds belonging to the joint Jordanian-PLO committee have been deposited. According to these security elements, the main problem does not lie in the possibility of introducing funds emanating from the PLO and its supporters, but in creating a control system which would prevent the use of these funds without receiving permission from the Israeli authorities. Reacting to this report, bankers told the Ma'Ariv correspondent that, indeed, anyone--including people linked to the PLO--could deposit money in Israeli banks overseas and transfer it to people in Israel. They can also do this through foreign banks. Report by Yosef Tzuri'el]. [Excerpt] [TA180926 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 18 Sep 81 p 11]

CSO: 4323/67

AFGHAN YOUTH ORGANIZATION SENDS SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO YOUNG PALESTINIANS

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 7 Aug 81 p 3

[Text] Kabul--The Democratic Organization of the Youth of Afghanistan [DOYA] sent a message of its solidarity with the youth and people of Palestine, as follows:

Comrades! Recently the world's people were the witnesses of new barbaric attacks by the Israeli Zionists against Lebanon, particularly the Palestinian regions of that country. This direct military intervention and aggression, which took place under the aegis of U.S. imperialism's all-out support, has fueled the fires of anger and hatred of progressive humanity, including the progressive youth of Afghanistan, against Israeli Zionists and their friends.

Now that you, our dear comrades, are facing the deplorable consequences of the traitorous Camp David agreement, DOYA, representing the youth of Afghanistan, announces its unsparing, all-out support and solidarity with your just and righteous struggles for freedom, natural sovereignty, and social progress against world imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionism.

DOYA, as a revolutionary scout for the nation's youth, strongly condemned the barbaric and traitorous attacks of Israeli Zionists which took place using U.S.-built bombers. DOYA announces that these attacks cannot be excused for any reason whatsoever. DOYA believes that the delivery of four F-16 bombers to the Tel Aviv government, and encouraging Israel to make irresponsible and aggressive attacks against the Arab Moslem people have dealt a severe blow to peace in the Middle East. These acts have greatly aggravated the critical situation. In this fashion the aggressive Zionists are encouraged to intensify the aggressive madness of international monopoly against the just struggles of the people of the region and the world.

Thus DOYA once again demands that the U.S. imperialists and their allies in the region, Zionism and the Sadat regime, cease all the reactionary plots they have launched against the righteous struggles of the Palestinian youth and people versus imperialism and Zionism.

Crusading comrades! DOYA totally condemns the inhuman attacks the Israeli Zionists have launched against the heroic Palestinian people, and once again states its support for the struggles waged by the Palestinian youth and people for the restitution and complete freedom of their occupied lands.

DOYA believes that despite the traitorous and bellicose attacks of the imperialists and Zionists against the revolutionary forces of Palestine, the heroic struggles of the people, youth and determined officials of Palestine will triumph in the end.

Victory to the just struggles of the Palestinian people!  
Death to world imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionism!

According to another report: A similar message was also sent to Lebanon by DOYA's Central Komiteh in order to express DOYA's solidarity with the struggles of the youth and people of Lebanon, and its condemnation of the traitorous attacks of Israeli Zionists on Lebanon's soil using U.S. bombers.

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CSO: 4665/10

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, OPPOSITION LEADERS DISCUSS POSITIONS

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 11 May 81 pp 12-18

[Article by Mahmud 'Abd-al-Wahab: "The Opposition and the Government Face to Face"]

[Text] Opposition parties say, "We are seeking power; we are calling for ending disputes with Arabs; and we are calling for reconsideration of the open-door policy." The government's party says, "We reject the dictatorship of a minority; we are not the reason behind the hostility with the Soviet Union; and the Arabs will return very soon."

Fikri Makram 'Ubayd says, "The pages of ROSE AL-YUSUF are an affirmation of democracy."

Egypt assumed its position on the road to democracy since the May 1971 revolution.

Having been buried in the shadow of a single political organization, the word, parties, reappeared in the vocabulary of Egyptian politics.

The man in the street became accustomed to hearing the word, opposition, after it used to arouse fear of dire consequences.

Despite the errors of partisan practice which are due to inexperience, President al-Sadat did declare more than once that, "There would be no retreat from democracy." He said that the remedy for the errors of democracy lies in more democracy.

From this premise we thought we would bring the opposition parties and the ruling party together face to face in an objective round-table debate. Each would express his position and make his statement, sometimes defending his position and sometimes attacking [the other's position]. It is certain that ultimately the outcome of the debate will serve the cause of democracy.

It's been said a long time ago that differences of opinion do not spoil the cause of friendship.



There are differences of opinions and positions between the political parties that are now in existence in Egypt. The opposition is being accused of taking advantage of the public's suffering during the period of building for prosperity. [It's being accused of the fact] that its only concern is to assume power and that to do so it is resorting to methods of provocation and agitation.

The ruling party affirms its adherence to democracy and its open-minded attitude toward the opposition, [as long as such opposition is expressed] in a framework of objectivity and the country's supreme interests are placed above all considerations.

We interviewed all the parties involved about the questions over which there is disagreement between the government and the opposition. We are reporting the interview truthfully without comment.

#### An Attempt To Create a Public Opinion

Mustafa Kamil Murad, president of the Liberal party says, "Opposition as a political method is tied basically to the social conditioning of the people. If we as individuals do not understand the meaning of having a difference of opinion or the meaning of criticism and if we as groups and as individuals still think that there are problems that may not be debated, how can there be a healthy political opposition [in our midst]? Political individuals are ultimately the product of the climate and the predominant cultural framework. Herein lies the importance of discussing the question of the opposition in Egypt.

"Therefore, parties prepare their ranks and educate and train them to use the democratic method in political action. On another level these parties communicate with the masses to discuss with them the parties' programs which affect political, economic and social problems. They do so in an attempt to create for themselves a public opinion and to broaden their base among the people.

"It is quite normal for the opposition to be criticized because no one expects to express opposition and to have his opposition acceptable in all cases. [It is quite normal that] charges be made against the opposition and that reservations be expressed regarding it. In my opinion all these are political methods whose purpose is to undermine the political power of other parties, power which they gain from communicating with the people. These methods are recognized in the world of politics, and this is normal growth for the opposition and the democratic experience.

"From the points of view and the reservations that are presented and from the reactions that are made to those points of view and reservations an agreement is produced and the form of a relationship between the parties is formulated. [One party] would be accused of agitation and provocation, and that charge would be refuted from the other point of view. We would hear all the opinions, the charges and the reservations and we would also hear the refutations, but this would take place in the context of a legal



accusation. Instead of making generalizations, we have to be specific and say that party X is charged with XYZ and there is a law that rules [in this case].

"It goes without saying that the objective of the opposition is to attain power. Yes we do aspire to power. What would be the significance of political action otherwise? The party that does not have the attainment of power as one of its objectives is not a party. However, we have to make it clear that we in the Liberal party see power as a means and not an end. Power is a means by which we can realize our program which will not be realized unless we attain power.

"Regarding reservations on the form of opposition, we in the party are committed to the notion that when we criticize the government, we are presenting another opinion and the considerations upon which that opinion is based. At the same time I am affirming that we are not taking advantage of the public's suffering and that we will not do so.

"All parties have to know and understand that errors and excesses are inevitable. We all have to be equally tolerant about the excesses of both the ruling party and the opposition."

#### The Results of the Opposition

Mumtaz Nassar speaks for the independents: "I see no reason for complaints or for dissatisfaction with the opposition. Objective opposition serves the government and does not hurt it. Accordingly, it sheds light on the government's course and corroborates opinion. In fact, it is in the government's interests to listen to the opposition and to ask it for another opinion. The government should not be embarrassed if it finds that the opposition's opinions were correct and if it adopts them.

"As far as I am concerned as a member of the independent opposition, I have not departed from the framework of objectivity. I have not made a single statement that implies a personal attack or an infringement upon a single person.

"If one person in the opposition were to deviate, it is not right to generalize the complaint and to become intolerant of all the opposition. One person's method will be different from that of another. Similarly, one party's method of opposition will differ from that of another party. Hence, the government may think that the opposition's opinions imply agitation and provocation, but the opposition may not subscribe to that view.

"Therefore, to make our democratic experiment successful, differences of opinion must not have any damaging effects on the opposition.

"The law must be the standard and the authority when any person or party is censured. If the government finds substantive objections and legal evidence, it should take the one who committed the error to court. No one is sovereign but the law. To achieve what is in the interests of Egypt the government has to extend its hand to the opposition without being defensive about it."

## Half a Percent

Khalid Muhi al-Din of the Grouping party says, "Since we've chosen and accepted for ourselves a political system that is based on multiple parties, opposition becomes a citizen's right. If 99.5 percent of the people were of one opinion and the other 0.5 percent had another opinion, it is the right of this minority to express that opinion and to express its opposition.

"In political action there is no such thing as the consensus of the people because this would mean that if there were an agreement among the majority over an opinion, then the opposition would have to hold its peace, and this would not be proper.

"There are fundamental principles in political action and in life that we must understand. There is nothing in life that is cannot be changed or amended. When people agree on something, that agreement is neither permanent nor sacred. Opposing a policy adopted by the state is not a departure from the consensus; it is the right of legitimate political organizations.

"The modern history of Egypt has a clear example of this. When Egypt signed the 1936 treaty, some people supported it and called it a treaty of honor and independence and others opposed it and called it a treaty of humiliation and dishonor. We can never say that those who supported the treaty were against the interests of Egypt or those who opposed the treaty were against the interests of Egypt.

"Taking advantage of the people's suffering is a complaint and a permanent reservation expressed against the practices of the opposition in general. In my opinion this is not true. The mere statement that suffering is being exploited is an admission of the fact that suffering does exist. We did not create this suffering; it is rather the product of existing conditions. No political party can agitate the public or make them feel their suffering merely by talking to them. If we were to close down the opposition and confiscate their newspapers, will the suffering cease? The [government's] defensive posture is a result of the fact that the government is dissatisfied with our assertion that it is not devoting attention to [the task of] confronting the causes of suffering.

"When I speak about the Grouping as an opposition party, I assert that we are not against the existing regime. It is true that we disagree with it, but our disagreement is objective. The evidence for this lies in the fact that the statements made by the party in response to the government's statements criticize and propose an alternative. In fact, we demonstrated the utmost in objectivity since we offer a dual alternative to what we criticize: an alternative that we think is an application of our policy, and on another level we offer solutions that are consistent with the policy which the government is practicing. The records of the [sessions of the] People's Assembly attest to that.

"It goes without saying that the purpose of our opposition is to achieve power. Yes, we admit that we want power, but we want it in the manner and the way that are laid out by the constitution and determined by the laws.

"We want power so we can put our programs into practice and achieve our policy. Otherwise, what would be the meaning of our party or of having multiple parties?"

#### We Do Not Offer Alternative Solutions!

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi speaks for the Socialist Labor party, "I will begin by saying that it is in the nature of things that any ruling party will object to everything that the opposition does regardless of time and place. We do not expect the ruling party to lavish praise on the opposition, nor do we expect it to be satisfied with the opposition.

"Regarding what is being said about the agitation and the provocation which are being carried out by the opposition, we hope that the government will find evidence of this and that it will take those who do such things to court. The sovereignty of the law rules for me or against me. But as far as taking advantage of the suffering of people is concerned: if there is suffering, it is no virtue to conceal it.

"It is being said that the opposition does not offer alternative solutions. It is our opinion that offering solutions to a certain situation is a mistake because it is not my function to offer the government a solution to a situation. This is not the role of the opposition because the opposition believes in a specific integrated plan. But if the government did actually want to hear the opposition's alternatives, it would have to come to an agreement with us first about the principal elements and the broad lines of the major national issues.

"There is nothing shameful about wanting to attain power so we can realize our objectives and our programs if we do so in a legal manner. When we oppose [something], we do so not because we love to oppose. Differences of opinion are not supposed to spoil the case for friendship."

#### No Democracy Without Opposition

Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, deputy prime minister for People's Assembly affairs, [speaks for] the National party, "At the outset I would like to remind everyone of what President al-Sadat said and what all of us in the party are convinced of: there will be no retreat from democracy because the National party is set up basically on two pillars of support which are nationalism and democracy.

"But the simple question that is being raised is this: is it possible to have a democracy without an opposition? Actually no. God did not create us in molds; we are rather different in the way we think, in the way we view matters and in the way we perceive things intellectually. Consequently, since we believe in democracy and since we have accepted it, it

is self-evident then that we believe in opposition and that we accept it.

"But what is opposition? Most certainly it is not derision, derogation or defamation; all these are matters that have been wiped out by time a long time ago not only in Egypt but also in the entire world. Accordingly we in the National party reject an opposition that is based on disrespect and innuendo.

"We welcome opposition as long as it is objective and not spurred by personal motives.

"Regarding their statement that they want to attain power, attaining power is their legal right, and there is no dispute about that. But the dispute is over how the opposition attains power. Does it attain it by persuading and convincing the people and winning popular support or by [fomenting] class struggle?

"If the opposition is saying that it does not have an opportunity to express itself, such a statement is misleading. The Grouping party had its newspaper, AL-AHALI, and it stopped publishing it. If a few issues of the newspaper were confiscated, this was done by court order. Not the government, the party or any person in Egypt has a mandate over the courts. The courts are above everybody, unless they are raising doubts about the integrity of the Egyptian courts. But this is another matter.

"The Grouping [party] stopped publishing its newspaper and is now publishing a bulletin called AL-TAQADDUM. No one has objected. If the Grouping [party] says that the printing presses refused to print for it, what is the government to do about that?

"If the government were annoyed with the newspaper or wanted to stop its publication, why has it allowed the publication of AL-TAQADDUM which publishes everything that used to be published in AL-AHALI? Why does it allow the publication of the newspaper, AL-SHA'B, and why does it allow two citizens to file suit against the president?

"The truth is that the National party is more democratic and more tolerant than they are. If we do not accept anyone's authoritative command, we accordingly do not impose our authoritative command over anyone. But we do reject the logic of arm twisting, and just as we do not welcome the dictatorship of the majority, we also reject the dictatorship of the minority. Let me give you examples of what I am saying.

"After the Camp David accords were signed an official invitation was issued to Mr Ibrahim Shukri in his capacity as leader of the opposition to attend the meeting of the Council of Ministers to discuss the agreement. It was a lengthy meeting attended by military experts who explained in detail all the military aspects of the agreement. The minister of foreign affairs explained the government's strategy and objectives, and he discussed the agreement politically. Ibrahim Shukri came out of the meeting convinced of the Camp David accords and expressing his approval of them. Afterwards



he assumed positions that were incomprehensible. Isn't the opposition supposed to support the negotiator? Who said that the negotiations had reached the point of no return for him to withdraw his approval? Is not this a democratic posture on the part of the National party?

"Is it not a democratic posture on the part of the National party to permit the publication of the AL-TAQADDUM bulletin and to accept the fact that one of its issues said that the regime was going through a stage of "dis-solution and collapse." Another time they said the Israelis were entering Egypt as victorious conquerors. They are beginning to promote rumors and are saying that the government will sell the farmers water for irrigation. Another time they say that economic relations with Israel are abnormal relations and that they were founded by force on the conditions set by conquerors. Is not this an indication of the democracy of the National party which hears this and keeps quiet? However, it is our right to reject this and to say that this opposition is not objective and not constructive and that it is agitating [the public].

"Our final example is an explanation of the dictatorship of the minority. When a bill is being debated in the People's Assembly and they disagree about it, they leave and they say they are registering a position. Is it not better and more reasonable to register a position through discussion? Another member [of the assembly] may be persuaded to accept [their] point of view. For example, after the law of elections by (party) lists was passed, they withdrew from the elections. Who then is practicing the democracy of the majority?

"Is not the fact that ROSE AL-YUSUF is publishing this interview an indication of democracy?

"These are examples and a part of the whole [picture]. If we were to list evidence for the opposition's lack of objectivity, the examples would be innumerable. Accordingly, it is proper for the National party to demand that there be a framework for the opposition. When we say a framework we are not implying an authoritative control, restriction or curtailment. However, we have to reject the lack of objectivity and to reject having the parties be mouthpieces for foreign countries.

"In saying this we are not accusing anyone of working for another country. We are not casting doubts about the patriotism of anyone, but we are saying that there are some parties that link their strategy with that of foreign forces. This is objectionable because it is not loyalty to Egypt.

"To be told that we want a tame opposition is "petty" and is not worthy of a response.

"Opposition, yes, but casting doubts, no.

"A final point remains to be made. A popular referendum does not mean the silence of the opposition. I am saying, are not the people the source of power?

"I summarize by saying that we are not restricting the opposition; we are not intolerant of it; and we do not exercise authoritative control over it. But opposition should not be carried out through defamation, agitation or the casting of doubts. All that we are asking of the opposition is to commit itself to a clear framework of sound patriotic conduct."

#### Four Principal Questions between the Government and the Opposition

Peace, foreign policy, economic policy and the question of freedom and democracy are the four questions on which the opposition assumed a position that differed from that of the government.

What is the magnitude of the difference? What are the participants in the interview saying about it?

Mustafa Kamil Murad (the Liberals) says, "I am in complete agreement with the government over the steps it took for the question of peace. The time has come for us to stop the continuous bloodshed and the drain of funds in the continuous wars. President al-Sadat's step was extremely intelligent and courageous because it exposed all the allegations of Israel and showed the recalcitrance of Menahem Begin's government.

"As far as foreign policy is concerned, we are in agreement with the government in general, but we are asking that a new leaf be turned in [relations] with the Soviet Union and that an attempt be made to put an end to the disagreement. We are asking that our role and our presence in Africa be furthered and we are asking that Arab differences be settled. We have a leadership role in the Arab area, and we have to tolerate our brothers and extend our hands to them. The suspension of official relations does not mean estrangement. Instead, we have to send popular delegations [to the Arab countries] to strengthen relations and attempt to put an end to the disagreement.

"As far as the economic policy is concerned, we disagree completely with the government. We are calling for a complete overhaul of the wages policy and a complete overhaul of the tax law that would be based on encouraging investors and reducing tax rates. We are asking that the role of the public sector be reduced to the strategic industries and that holding companies be established.

"Regarding the question of democracy, although we realize that the experience is still a recent one, we do think that it can be furthered by removing all the restrictions on the press and [allowing the press corps] to elect their leaders from the press organizations. We think the president of the republic should be elected; the shaykh of al-Azhar should be elected; the supreme council for the courts should be elected and kept totally separate from the Ministry of Justice; and that no person whatsoever regardless of his position should have an honorary or an actual relationship with the courts."



## The Military Alternative

Khalid Muhi al-Din (the Grouping [party]): "As far as the question of peace is concerned, we are not against peace, but we disagree with the government radically over its course in solving the Arab-Israeli struggle. We think that the solution of the Arab-Israeli struggle took place outside the framework of the United Nations and that it ignored the Arab parties in the dispute.

"There are reasons why we object to the peace. The government accepted the demilitarization of parts of Sinai while the Negev is heavily armed. It has also ruled out the military alternative: it ended the state of war; and it closed the door to the only arms supplier, which is the Soviet Union.

"As far as foreign policy is concerned, we do not agree with the government's foreign policy. We are against having the government link its strategy with the strategy of the United States, and we are against its opposition to the Soviet Union everywhere in the world. We support an Arab policy that is fundamentally based on Arab solidarity. Egypt's power lies in its solidarity with the Arabs, and Egypt's political and economic security are tied basically to the Arabs. We support positive neutrality and non-alignment, but the government is aligning itself because its foreign policy is an expression of its class positions inside the country.

"We also disagree radically with the government on economic policy. The Egyptian economy is suffering from structural deficiencies, from a deficit in the balance of payments and from the poor standard of services. The remedies that are being applied are partial remedies and not radical remedies for an economic problem.

"As far as the question of democracy in Egypt is concerned, we think that the ruling party is hampering democracy. It controls the agencies of the media. Consequently, the opposition is denied the right to express itself and to communicate with the public. Furthermore, there is a set of laws that restrain freedom such as the Law of Shame, the socialist prosecutor, the Suspicion Law and numerous laws that impede the course of democracy."

Mumtaz Nassar (the Independents) says, "We think the peace treaty is an infringement on national sovereignty and does not bring about a just, comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli struggle. If the Egyptian negotiator were able to achieve better conditions in the presence of the parties to the dispute and with their approval, our position would have been better than it is now.

"As far as foreign policy is concerned, we in the Independents' Front believe in balanced relations with the two superpowers and with the Arab area. We think that major reform is required in the economic situation and that the economic openness policy must be reconsidered because of the damages it has caused to the Egyptian economy. We are against economic policies that will produce nothing more than further suffering.

"We are against the ruling party's control of the agencies of the media and the fact that no news of the opposition is being published. We are against the fact that space is not provided for the statements of the opposition."

#### The Dead End Road

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi (Labor): "No two people can disagree about their love for peace. We approve of a just, comprehensive peace that would solve the question of the Arab-Israeli struggle without concessions. Therefore, we did initially approve of the Camp David accords and the peace treaty, and we had seven reservations about the treaty. But then we were surprised that Israel was not honoring the spirit of peace and that it did not want peace. After the peace agreements Israel annexed Jerusalem and expanded its construction of the settlements and its expulsion of Arab residents. It intervened in Lebanon and declared that it would not permit [the establishment] of a homeland for the Palestinians.

"We think that these positions call upon us to view [the situation] and reconsider the peace agreement. When we became certain that Israel did not want peace, we revised our position and withdrew our support for the agreement.

"As politicians we are not indifferent; we are stirred by events. We calculate [our moves] in accordance with the variables, and this explains our position. We supported the negotiator, but when our political instincts told us that the road which the government was about to pursue was a dead end road, we assumed the position we took. We think that it is possible for the Egyptian negotiator to capitalize on our position.

"Regarding foreign policy we believe in non-alignment, in a balanced foreign policy with the two superpowers and with the need to restore a balance in political relations with Europe, especially since it has emerged as a political force of consequence.

"Our economic policy is against the consumer [oriented] economic openness policy. We are against the policy of borrowing from any country unless the loans are used for national production and for increasing national production. Even then there must be limits.

"We want to devote attention to small and middle-sized industries because they will ultimately increase national production and create jobs for labor.

"Thus we support a clear, comprehensive development plan.

"When we come to a discussion of democracy, [I say that] we want to have secure freedom, that is, the freedom that I practice when I say no or yes should be a freedom without fear for one's livelihood, for one's children or for one's work.

"Furthermore, the ruling party arrogates for itself all the means of communicating with the public such as radio, television and newspapers. All these are national means for communicating with the public, and they are supposed to be available to all parties and not restricted to one party."

#### And the Government Says

Fikri Makram 'Ubayd (the National party): "First, as far as peace is concerned, I will respond to everything stated by the opposition in specific points.

"1. Peace is not a mere word and an agreement. It is a clear and a declared position as well as a political philosophy. Consequently, the logic of using a military alternative as a pressure tool is impractical because the entry into the peace negotiations was based on a declaration that the state of war between the two parties had come to an end in the search for a permanent peace. Otherwise, what would be the significance of negotiating with an opponent when there is a state of war that has not come to an end? Such negotiations would be truce negotiations and not peace.

"2. Once again those who are claiming that the use of a military alternative is possible are ignorant of the fact that the world's balances of power will not permit a future struggle in the area to take place. If such a struggle were to take place, [these powers are determined that] its outcome must not be settled in the interests of the Arabs. Accordingly, this amounts to a drain on Arab resources. As an indication of this I mention that the Soviet ambassador in an urgent message to Aleksei Kosygin on the evening of October 7 asked for a cease fire instead of asking that more weapons be sent. I am mentioning this for those who are regretting that the Soviet supply of weapons has been stopped.

"Regarding thwarting national sovereignty and the conditions in the agreements which they claim would restrict the political decision makers in Egypt in the future, I respond to them hypothetically by asking: does the restoration of the national soil thwart national sovereignty, or does occupation of the national soil thwart it?

"I believe that as far as restricting the Egyptian politician in the future, these agreements will not restrict any politician unless there is an actual war between the two countries. I would imagine hypothetically that the significance behind a politician's decision to go to war is that the objective and private international circumstances will accept his decision to abrogate the treaty.

"This is a hypothetical response in an argument with those who like to discuss politics in hypothetical terms.

"The final point in the question of peace is [directed] to those who would punish Israel for its positions by withdrawing their support for the treaty. Would it not have been better to join forces with the Egyptian negotiator and concentrate their efforts on helping him by giving him an

objective opinion instead of taking world-wide action as a socialist party and an opposition party to mobilize world-wide public opinion against Israel?"

#### We Are Not the Reason for the Hostility with the Soviets

"It is also being said that Egypt is adopting American points of view and that it is joining its interests with those of the United States. All these statements are well-known accusations, and our position is quite clear. We befriend those who befriend us. The relationship between us and the United States is one of friendship, just as there was a time when we had friendly relations with the Soviet Union. Did that mean that we were then revolving in Moscow's orbit and that we were communists, and so on and so forth?

"Not at all. International conditions and Egypt's interests dictated that condition to us. All those who work in politics know that there are no permanent friendships and no permanent hostilities and that there are rather common interests.

"When we offer the United States facilities, we do so on the basis of clear positions that are announced. There have been so many similar facilities, which almost turned into naval bases for the Soviet fleet, that were offered to the Soviets! The details and the herces of the Mersa Matruh base incident are still alive.

"We did not initiate and we did not cause the hostilities with the Soviet Union. The door is still open for strengthening our relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of mutual respect.

"We agree with the opposition about the importance of relations with Europe and with Africa, and there is no disagreement between us about that.

"Regarding the Arab nation we are declaring a fact that is dictated by history and created by geography: there can be no Egypt without the Arabs and no Arabs without Egypt. I may not be revealing a secret if I were to say that the next brief period will bring about a return of numerous [Arab] countries to the folds of Egypt, the motherland.

"We agree with the opposition that there are economic difficulties and there is suffering, especially in prices and services. This stage is essential and inevitable, especially when we are shifting from a specific economic system to another, but we have to understand this and to avoid its mistakes.

"It is true that the open-door policy has not yet offered all that it should offer, but this is a problem that will end soon. The party is in the process of completing its evaluation of the economic policies. There is a study on wages and a study on the public sector. There are studies which comprise the tax law, the customs law, housing plans, utilities improvement and preparations for a 10-Year development plan. Studies for all this are

being prepared in the party. An announcement will be made as soon as this is completed. Accordingly, I say to the opposition to join us and come up with studies, projects and opinions. Let us all discuss the interests of Egypt and its citizens through the legal institutions because Egypt is above all parties."

Fikri Makram 'Ubayd added, "Perhaps my replies to everything that was raised by the opposition in ROSE AL-YUSUF, which is a national publication, constitute the most serious evidence of the democratic climate. It is a climate that gives them the opportunity to express their opinion and gives us the opportunity to respond."

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EGYPT

OPPOSITION LEADERS COMMENT ON OPPOSITION CONTROVERSY

Cairo MAY in Arabic 1 Jun 81 p 3

[Interview with Muhammad Hasan Durrah, Vice President of the Labor Party and Member of the People's Assembly and Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, Assistant Secretary General of the Labor Party by Mahmud Mu'awwad; date and place not specified: "Opposition Leaders Speak to MAY"]

[Text] The vice president of the Labor party says, "I reject cooperation between the Labor party and the Leftist party; I do not approve of what Deputy Ahmad Farghali said; the Labor party is part of the regime, and there is no dispute between it and the government." The assistant secretary of the Labor party calls for a direct meeting between the majority and the opposition.

The scope of the discussion about the question of the opposition has begun to grow.

Opposition leaders themselves began taking part in the discussion which MAY presented around this significant question.

Muhammad Hasan Durrah, the vice president of the Labor party and member of the People's Assembly and Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the assistant secretary general of the Labor party assumed the initiative and decided to discuss the questions of the opposition on the pages of MAY.

The vice president of the Labor party affirmed that the objective dialogue between the majority and the opposition was the greatest guarantee for democracy and that what happened on the scene of partisan life in recent days was caused by the fact that some people had departed from objectivity and had turned the question into personal battles.

The man, who 3 years ago had convened in his home the meeting at which the Labor party was founded, said that he rejects any cooperation between his party and the leftist Grouping party. He said he expressed reservations about the attendance of Khalid Muhi al-Din, president of the leftist party, at the press conference of the Labor party, and [he said] that he also



expressed reservations about what was stated at the press conference by Ahmad Farghali, member of the Labor party and the representative of Asyut.

Muhammad Hasan Durrah affirmed that the Labor party was not opposed to the regime and was not involved in a dispute with the government. He affirmed that no one can deny that democracy had been restored to Egypt under the administration of President al-Sadat after an absence of 20 years. The assistant secretary general of the Labor party asked that a direct meeting between the National party and the Labor party be held to forestall those who are trying to create problems between the two parties.

#### Hasan Durrah Speaks

The first question that MAY asked the vice president of the Labor party was a question about his opinion of the method of democratic practice in the recent period.

[Answer] In the first place there are principles for democratic practice that are indisputable. These involve a commitment to the values and the instructions of the divine books. To me these represent the center of opinion in every question. Proceeding from this premise I believe that every Egyptian who loves his country and who is loyal to it regretted the past events that our democratic experiment lived through during the last few days when some people from the majority party and from the opposition departed from the framework of the true democracy that we want to be a quiet, objective dialogue which ought to be characterized by wisdom and reason. This departure was carried out in a manner that was marked by rage and passion. It thus violated the method that God Almighty prescribed for us when He said, "Call men to the path of your Lord with wisdom and kindly exhortation. Reason with them in the most courteous manner" [The Bee: 125].

All the parties without exception have departed from the purposeful partisan commitment which is first and foremost in the interests of Egypt, and they have [become involved] in marginal personal battles that involve defamation and argumentative debates carried out at the expense of our domestic problems and questions.

[Question] Do you believe that the Labor party and the Progressive Grouping party, the Left, have departed from the purposeful partisan commitment which you affirm, should be first and foremost in the interests of Egypt?

[Answer] Don't ask me about the Leftist party because I do not believe in the Marxist theory. In fact I repudiate it. By the way, let me ask the government a question: how can it permit this party to hold debates within the sight and hearing of the government to support the party's candidate in Misr al-Qadimah and then blame the Labor party afterwards simply because the president of the Leftist party attended the press conference of the Labor party?

[Question] Is not this on behalf of democracy?

[Answer] My own personal point of view and my position from which I do not deviate is this: I reject any cooperation or any solidarity with the Leftist party, and I have expressed my reservations about the attendance of Mr Khalid Muhi al-Din at the press conference of the Labor party.

As far as the practice of the Labor party is concerned, it is unfair to accuse the Labor party of constantly rejecting what the government is doing. We, I mean the Labor party, have supported many of the government's decisions and projects. No one is denying those major accomplishments that were achieved, thanks to God and His favor, under the administration of President al-Sadat, such as purging the country from the Soviet presence and the October victory that restored to Egypt and to Arabism their dignity which had been violated after the June 1967 setback. Also no one is denying that democracy has been restored to Egypt under the administration of President al-Sadat after an absence of 20 years during which Egypt lived under a single opinion totalitarian government.

I would like to affirm, as God is my witness, that everybody knows that we in the Labor party are not opposed to the regime and that we are not at all in a dispute with the government because we consider our party to be complementary to the framework of true democracy which cannot do without the factions of an opinion and a counter-opinion.

I would like you to ask me why I decided to return to political activity after an absence of 30 years.

[Question] Go ahead, [tell us].

[Answer] My purpose is to take part through political action in codifying the Islamic law so that we can assure the whole world that it is possible to establish a sound society based on the One Law to which everybody would be subject without any deference being shown to anyone. [I want us to show the world] that we can achieve the delicate balance between the individual and society so that individualism would not be attacked and groups would not be attacked. [I want us to show the world] that it is virtuous conduct that achieves social peace in this society and that it is in virtuous conduct that the principles of enjoining good and forbidding evil, of social justice, social solidarity and of counsel in government are manifested. In such a society an individual can feel safe about his life: he would not be persecuted; he would not be hungry; and he would not be naked.

The truth is that we have found the beginning of the road in this regard.

[Question] Can we devise a framework that would regulate the relationship between the majority and the minority? How can this be done?

[Answer] I do not forget one of President al-Sadat's splendid political speeches in which he said, "The public will have no confidence in any organization that develops under the protection of the government."

I think that the National party is strong only because of its leadership, about which there is no dispute.

I would like to affirm that opposition is not a verbal war or a war of slogans. Consultations must also be the foundation of political action. Otherwise we would have unilateral decisions either by the majority or the minority. It should be known that decisions are sometimes made within the minority without consultation.

The minority's objection to some decisions does not diminish the importance of those decisions. Quite the contrary it gives them strength and it gives the partisan regime that is devoted to democracy a shot in the arm. It is enough that it allows the other opinion to voice an objection.

I have had reservations about what Brother Ahmad Farghali said at the press conference. In my judgment democratic tolerance is the sweetest feature of the practice with which we must adorn ourselves now during the period of democratic immaturity.

I am also calling upon the minority to rise to the same level: not to minimize the import of the accomplishments. As long as it is calling attention to the negative features, it should also mention the positive ones.

God Almighty says, "Do not tamper with the property of orphans, but strive to improve their lot until they reach maturity: [Cattle: 152].

The minority must also not take statements out of context.

The state is facing many problems, and we do not doubt for a moment the government's sincerity in confronting them. Examples [of such problems are]: the phenomenon of seizing control of the state's property, abusing influence, illicit gain and housing.

The fact is that our opposition in [the matter of] housing was not merely for the sake of opposition. Our role was to affirm that the present capabilities could not help solve this problem. Our objective was [to obtain] more financing and capabilities to alleviate the sharpness of the crisis only.

Yes we have turned the spotlight on violations in Cairo which is teeming with its people. There is a building for example that has a permit for seven stories, which is the elevation permissible by the width of the street. How can one imagine that this building would rise to 25 floors, violating the provisions of the law and affecting traffic?

[Question] What is your opinion of democratic practice in the People's Assembly?

[Answer] The majority party has absolute [control of the] opportunity [to express one's opinion] and does not give the opposition party the suitable opportunity to express its opinions especially when political questions are

being discussed. But to be fair we must say that the president of the Assembly, Dr Sufi Abu Talib is trying to be neutral. Dr Sufi was the only member in the recent session of the People's Assembly who gave the opposition the full opportunity to defend itself after the People's Assembly Law and Ordinance went into effect.

[Question] What are your observations on democratic practice before and after the revolution?

[Answer] My observations about the parties before the revolution are that they were extremely solicitous of the regime and only the regime. In the last cabinet of al-Wafd, which was headed by al-Nahhas Basha--and Fu'ad Siraj al-Din was secretary general of al-Wafd then and the king and the al-Wafd cabinet did not get along--it was noticed that the cabinet would not last in government more than a few months.

I recall an incident in al-Wafd's last cabinet in 1950. Al-Wafd leaders affirmed a new principle of going along with the king and appeasing him in every way so they can rule the country.

[Question] What in your opinion is the significant word [of advice] which you would whisper to the opposition and to the majority?

[Answer] To the majority I would say that the president of the National party must issue his official instructions which are binding on all the ministers and the governors to deliver services to citizens who are members of all the parties without discriminating between the government's party and the parties of the opposition because there is a large group of people who left the Labor party because their businesses had come to a standstill.

The wise word that I would whisper to the opposition is that it should not take things out of context, and it should not wait to catch mistakes.

#### A Meeting Between the Majority and the Opposition Called for

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the assistant secretary general of the Socialist Labor party said that a direct meeting between the leaders of the National party and the leaders of the Labor party was essential since such a meeting could restore the bridges of understanding, help build democracy and lay down the broad lines by which the majority and the opposition have to abide.

"This meeting," as Dr al-Hadidi says, "will intercept those who want to broaden the disagreement between the Labor party, which is considered part of this regime, and the National party.

"A dialogue between the two parties will create bridges of mutual understanding that can ultimately be a pact for all of us. The errors of the majority and of the opposition were in fact the product of action and reaction. They were the product of numerous circumstances.

"The National party has the means and the authority to pursue openness with the public. This can make the opposition defensive when it feels that it is under the influence of certain reactions.

"For example, there are numerous question marks that need many answers. If these are not explained by the majority, we may have to make them up or hear them from other sources."

I told him, "What in your opinion is the difference between the Labor party and the other forms of the opposition?"

Dr al-Hadidi said, "The Labor party is different from the rest of the opposition. The other parties of the opposition are parties that differ with the regime.

"But the Labor party is part of this regime. Hence, it has responsibilities in that regime. Therefore, everything must be made available to it so it can perform its mission as best as possible. The Labor party shares everything with the majority, which must not be the only one discussing public issues."

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EGYPT

LABOR PARTY PRESIDENT DISCUSSES OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT'S POLICY

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 16 May 81 p 11

[Interview with Ibrahim Shukri, President of the Socialist Labor Party by Manar Bars; in Damascus, mid April: "Exclusive Interview with President of the Socialist Labor Party in Egypt; Ibrahim Shukri Says, 'We Endorsed the Camp David Accords under Special Conditions, but We Are Rejecting Those Accords now; We Are Coordinating Our Efforts Inside the Country with the Grouping Party; We Reject Military Facilities for the United States'"]

[Text] The basic change in the Socialist Labor party in Egypt, which is the official opposition party, is that it has now shifted to a position of opposing the Camp David accords after having supported them in the past.

In this interview with the president of the party, Ibrahim Shukri, which was conducted by Manar Bars while Mr Shukri was in Damascus attending the meetings of the Palestinian National Council in mid April, Mr Shukri reviews the general lines of his party's politics. He settles the matter of the party's rejection of the Camp David accords, and he affirms the relationship of coordination "whenever there is a need for it" with the National Progressive Unionist Grouping party. At the same time he rejects the present form of the Arab boycott of Egypt, and his rejection appears closer to being an invitation [to the Arab countries] to maintain diplomatic relations with al-Sadat's regime.

The interview explains quite clearly the significance of this kind of opposition in Egypt and the prospects for it. We will let the reader judge it and its effectiveness.

Ibrahim Shukri, who heads the Socialist Labor party, which has 33 seats in the present session of the People's Assembly, is a founding member of the Young Egypt Society. He has been a member of the Egyptian parliament since 1949. He is a leading member of the Arab Socialist Union and was one of the few to be chosen by the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir for a leadership position in the Socialist Union despite his previous separation from the course of the Egyptian Revolution. This was due to the fact that he was one of the traditional political symbols.

When 'Abd-al-Nasir's administration came to an end and al-Sadat came to power, Ibrahim Shukri was one of those who won President al-Sadat's confidence. He held the position of a minister in al-Sadat's government in 1977-1978. The text of the interview follows.

[Question] It is known that your party came into existence after President al-Sadat announced that he would allow multiple parties in Egypt for the purpose of creating an official and a superficial opposition. Can you explain to us the conditions and circumstances of your party's creation?

[Answer] Although our party is relatively young, since it was licensed in accordance with the Parties' Law that is currently in effect late in 1978, its historical roots go back to the thirties. I was at that time with a group of young people, and we made up the Young Egypt party, which was led by Ahmad Husayn. This was the party that became the Socialist party in 1948. Late in 1949 I was elected to parliament to represent this party, [and I did so] until the party's activity ceased a little after the revolution broke out in 1953.

During the revolution I took part in the activities of the Arab Socialist Union. I was one of the leaders chosen by President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir to be [the union's] secretary for the governorate of al-Daqahliyah, the largest governorate in the northern part of Egypt, where my electoral district is located.

In 1977 and 1978 I held the position of minister of agriculture and agrarian reform, but I resigned to call for the formation of the Socialist Labor party. We ran in the 1979 elections, and we won 33 members in the People's Assembly. Thus we got the leadership of the opposition in the assembly.

There were discussions at first about the essence and the objective of our call to form the Labor party at a time when President al-Sadat was calling for the formation of his party, which is called the Democratic National party. It was our judgment that there was a plan for the regime to have its effective party and an opposition it can trust. But the positions of the party, followed by the fact that we ran in the elections after the party was formed and won a number of seats, as well as our positions and our practices inside and outside the assembly in all the cases that dealt with domestic and foreign policies confirmed the truthfulness of our intentions and the staunchness of our opposition. Thus we succeeded in winning the confidence of the remaining opposition, and more people aligned themselves with our opinions.

It may be said that the positions we assumed in more than one question enabled us to assemble an opposition in a semi front. Although this front is not declared as an organization, it does prove its existence in all the important positions. Our newspaper, AL-SHA'B, is in fact a platform for all the opposition; all honest patriotic writers can write for it. This newspaper led campaigns after campaigns in more than one location and in more than one cause.

## The Camp David Accords: Yes and No

[Question] At first you supported the Camp David accords, but then you withdrew your support after a crisis was reached. How do you explain this position?

[Answer] As far as the Palestinian question and the Camp David accords are concerned, the party at first assumed a position that was dictated to it by the circumstances of its formation at the outset. Although it was clear that the majority of the party's supreme committee was completely opposed to the accords, party members who were members in the previous parliament of 1978 preferred that the party announce a guarded position on the Camp David accords, autonomy and the peace treaty. At the same time the party was to express provisional approval depending upon these reservations that were set by the party. This position had to do with circumstances the party knew it would face in the elections, which we learned at that time would be held after the People's Assembly ratified the accords.

In all situations and discussions on every occasion the party would raise the question of Israel's recalcitrant conduct on all the questions since the accords had been reached. It was evident that Israel's conduct was that of a country that had been assured that Egypt had abandoned the position of opposition, hostility and firmness and assumed a position of a country trying to find an atmosphere of cooperation to achieve the policies that were being sought by the Camp David accords.

One of the most important questions that we raised in the People's Assembly regarding these accords and as far as autonomy for the Palestinians was concerned was that concerning the subject of digging a canal that would carry [the waters of] the Nile to the Negev. This project had been announced in Egypt.

We succeeded in mobilizing all the honest patriotic writers and all the opposition parties to stand in one rank and oppose this idea. Finally, the government was forced to withdraw this project [from consideration].

We also raised the subject of the settlements, the subject of proclaiming unified Jerusalem the capital of Israel, the attempts to "Judaize" the power company in Jerusalem, the aggression on the lands of Hebron and the poor treatment that citizens, leaders and mayors of cities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were getting.

We noted how the 26 May 1980 date had come and gone without the autonomy talks reaching any results, and using the logic of those who approved of the accords and the logic of those who presented them and tried to link the Egyptian-Israeli treaty with the autonomy agreement, we indicated to them that Israel will not fulfill any pledge it took upon itself regarding anything that had to do with the Palestinian question.'

On 26 May the party issued a statement considering the provisional approval that was expressed by the members of the People's Assembly in the 1978

parliament not binding on the party. The party's statement rejected the accords and their results and consequences regarding Egypt's isolation and its departure from the Arab [course of] struggle against Zionism, and [it discussed] how these positions had totally damaged the Palestinian cause. We called upon the Egyptian people to resist the consequences of the accords, especially what is called the normalization of Egyptian-Israeli relations.

This statement was announced at a conference that was attended by all the forces in the opposition, from the ultra-right to the ultra-left. Opposition representatives spoke in the same vein or with the same logic in so far as the necessity to fight all the results [of the accords] that have to do with the development of relations between Egypt and Israel.

We can thus say that the party was able to give form to the opposition's unified position, even the opposition that is outside the People's Assembly. Many of the organizations that participated in the aforementioned conference are not represented in the People's Assembly.

[Question] Some of the Egyptian opposition forces think that the repudiation of Camp David requires first that the Egyptian regime and specifically President al-Sadat be overthrown. Where do you stand on this question, and what are the means of your coming to power?

[Answer] Naturally, we as a party operating within a legal, constitutional framework, with representatives in the People's Assembly and with a newspaper that speaks for us, expresses our opinions and thoughts and provides space for opposition opinions to express themselves, even those that clearly disagree with the government's opinion, find that the means to a solution for this question is the democratic means: enlightening the people [and informing them] of the policies that the party thinks are in the interests of the party and in the interests of the principles that are stipulated in the Egyptian constitution, namely, that Egypt is part of the Arab nation. We are hoping that with the pressure of public opinion our party will be able to force the government to change its course.

We have not lost our hope for free, honorable and neutral elections in the future so the people can give their true opinions. I feel [quite strongly] that the results of neutral elections will be quite different from the results that are announced now both in the elections and in the referenda which are conducted by the ruling party under pressures and with methods that I can say are in violation of the law.

One of the most prominent methods by which we are trying to establish these facts is that of filing suit in the state court to establish that there was no compliance with many of the measures that are required by the law regarding the referenda or the elections that were held and that they are therefore to be considered invalid.

[Question] What if the game of democracy does not succeed? Do you believe that it is the only means you have to attain power?



[Answer] I can be specific in my statement and say that if neutral elections were to be held, the results cannot possibly be like those that are announced now. The ruling party is likely to lose its majority if proper, viable referenda were conducted. I can say that the Labor party along with other factions of the opposition can form together a larger majority than that of the ruling party.

#### The Grouping Party Is a Progressive Party

[Question] How do you view the National Unionist Grouping party?

[Answer] The Grouping party is one of the first three parties that were formed initially. It had a limited number of representatives in the People's Assembly which was elected in 1976 and which continued to serve till early 1979. However, the party lost those seats in the recent elections. It is a progressive party, and I can say it is appreciated among the intellectuals and some of the working classes. Some of the Grouping's positions are in agreement with ours in all the fundamental questions that were presented for [public] opinion in the past 2 years. The Grouping party had a newspaper, but it ceased publication. It is now publishing a bulletin for its members. There are also leaders who represent the Nasirist trend; there is the Muslim Brotherhood Society; and there is the new al-Wafd party which suspended its activity. However, it has leaders who converge together with a few of the other leaders on national positions. There is also a group that represents the old National party and another group that represents the independents. They had their positions of leadership in the years before President al-Sadat's administration. Some of the leaders are trying to form new parties, and so far they have not been able to do so. All these factions and groups are in agreement about their opposition to the Camp David accords and their results.

#### The Relationship with the Grouping: "Occasional Coordination"

[Question] Do you have relations with the Grouping to coordinate [efforts]?

[Answer] It may be said that we coordinate [efforts] with the Grouping in every situation that requires coordination. For example, the most recent coordination situation occurred during the elections of the Press Union. There was coordination between us and them.

#### The Arab National Front: Opposition inside the Country, not Abroad

[Question] What is your evaluation of the experience of the Egyptian National Front which is headed by Gen Sa'd al-Din al-Shadhli?

[Answer] In general, with regard to the course of events in Egypt, I am not inclined to attribute results of significance and consequence to the opposition abroad. We consider the opposition that can be effective to be opposition inside the country among the masses of the people who are the proprietors of the question, the ones who have the right and the will to



change. Therefore, I do not wish to go into the details of investigating the subject of the opposition front abroad.

[Question] Why don't you coordinate with them inside the country?

[Answer] I do not believe that an opposition front abroad can make changes with regard to strengthening the opposition inside the country except to a very limited extent. It can acquaint the opposition inside the country with situations that occurred and that are related to the Arab countries when the opposition inside the country lacks the opportunity to receive this information from the publications in Egypt since these are affected by the ruling party's policy and do not publicize [such information] to the Egyptian people. Even though as you see we began as an opposition [party] inside the country, we do maintain an open-door policy towards the other parties abroad both in the Arab homeland or elsewhere. Our contacts with the PLO can relay to us the facts about the developments of events which are related to the Palestinian question--the Arabs' primary question--in a good manner that would allow us to form the soundest opinion with regard to this question and to the way it is being handled with regard to the policies of the ruling party in Egypt.

#### Egyptian Communists Are Ineffective Secret Parties

[Question] What is the role of communists in the Egyptian opposition?

[Answer] As far as the subject of Egyptian communist parties is concerned, these are parties that are not declared or recognized. Therefore, making a judgment of their activity is not easy. I believe in general that communist thought does not find for itself a suitable climate amidst the Egyptian people. This is because the idea of communism means atheism, and this makes it objectionable to the people of Egypt.

[Question] But the communists are against Camp David, why then don't you coordinate efforts with them?

[Answer] As I told you we do not know who represents these parties so that we can coordinate [efforts] with them. Regarding the notion that they represent the opposition to Camp David, [let me say that] the scene is full of factions that are opposed to these accords. The communists did not contact us. They also make up numerous parties whose identity and whose conditions are difficult to know so as to make a judgment about their course and determine whether or not we can coordinate [our efforts] with them to oppose Camp David.

#### The Arab Boycott Hurts Egypt and the Arab Countries

[Question] What is your position on the Arab boycott?

[Answer] I am not a supporter of undermining Arab relations between any Arab country and the remaining Arab countries. I think that the power,

the future, the pride and the prosperity of the Arabs lie in their unity and in the coordination of their policy. Therefore, I have always repeated the appeal that formulas be devised so that the preservation of this fundamental strategic course can be reconciled with the expression of the difference in policies which emerged. Such differences of opinion can always develop between governments on any subject.

I feel that this picture was not altogether far from the minds of the Arab countries. When they decided on kinds of boycotts against Egypt, these boycotts were always careful about preserving the interests of the Egyptian people. Therefore, the boycott did not include, for example, the work of individual Egyptians in Arab countries, nor did it include some kinds of cultural and economic cooperation through non-governmental organizations.

The fact is that Egypt's isolation from its Arab sisters is something that cannot benefit the Arab countries and cannot benefit Egypt.

[Question] But how can al-Sadat be forced to retreat from the course of Camp David?

[Answer] The declaration by Arab governments that they disapprove of the accords and that this opinion is a consensus opinion is their right. A declaration of disapproval naturally does not require the institution of a total boycott between the Arab countries and Egypt. Such a boycott is not natural and hurts the basic cause of strengthening the current of Arab unity and not breaking up the Arabs. Ultimately, such disunity is in the interests of those Zionist or superpower forces that do not want the Arabs to amount to anything.

#### Camp David: a Difference in Points of View

[Question] How then do you explain al-Sadat's unilateral steps and the Arab reaction to them?

[Answer] The whole matter is that there are differences in points of view. This group thinks the solution is one way and another group sees it another way.

As far as the Palestinian question is concerned, it is in a special situation since points of view on the Palestinian question differ and opinions on it vary. I cannot imagine, for example, that Mauritania offered for the Arab-Israeli struggle what Egypt has offered. It is the right of anyone to express his opinion and to say this is our view of the solution. Al-Sadat is being faulted for speaking for the Palestinians and not just for himself. He should have waited until acceptable formulas were found.

#### Egyptian Facilities: Rejected Product of Camp David

[Question] What is your position on the facilities that Egypt is offering to the U.S. rapid deployment forces?

[Answer] The facilities that are being offered by the Egyptian government to the United States come under the framework of the results of the Camp David accords. They are a form of the military facilities which our party rejects. Anyone who has been reading our newspaper, AL-SHA'B, will notice that we are against these facilities which amount to a restoration of military bases in Egypt and in the area.

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# LEFTIST PARTY LEADER DISCUSSES CURRENT SITUATION IN COUNTRY

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 Jun 81

[Report on Interview with Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, Head of the Egyptian National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party [NPUG] by AL-DUSTUR: "The Leader of the Egyptian Opposition Grouping Party Opens His Files to AL-DUSTUR: 'It Is Religious Values Which Constantly Move People to Progress!'" ]

/19 Jun 81 p 7

/Text/ There are people who say of Khalid Muhyi-al-Din that he is a "Communist," "non-religious" or a "nihilist." We believe that through his conversation with us on the subject of religion, the man has repudiated everything said about him on his own behalf.

Rather, as far as he is concerned, the case is different with regard to an objective analysis of the role of religion in life, and the role of the Islamic religion in building a better society. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's conversation with us today deals with spiritual values in Oriental society.

This was the text of his conversation with us:

The National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party believes that all divine religions have a progressive mission and that the essence of religious missions, as I believe it, does not conflict with the real conditions of life.

The conflict between religion and progress is in reality a purely European problem whose likes our countries have not seen. In the Middle Ages the church in Europe was linked to the feudal system and it had economic interests and a political influence which made it necessary that the feudal system survive in order that it be protected. Thus the senior clerics in the church in Europe rejected any move toward capitalism and, after that, socialism; in general they opposed any trend toward scientific and technological progress. Egypt or the Arab nation did not witness any such situation, and the Coptic Church did not have any such economic and political role.

Christianity laid the ground for the cultural progress which has been observed in Egypt since the fourth century AD. Islam brought the Arab nation to a new stage of civilization by which the whole world was affected.

The divine religions were and still are a creative force contributing to the development of good, equal treatment among men and moving society forward. Our history and our present circumstances bear witness to that.

The true religious values man derives from religion have become an inalienable part of our cultural heritage and have a great motive power in the holy war of man and the masses for a better life.

Egypt's Coptic heritage and the role of its national church in fighting the waves of foreign invasion and in giving power to the values of love and fraternity is one of which all the people of Egypt, Christians and Moslems, are proud.

Islamic jurisprudence is considered to be a form of genius in the context of the general teachings and overall principles of religion; through it, our nation has added brilliant peioneering pages to the entire human heritage throughout its glorious history in the periods of Islamic splendor.

This jurisprudence contains a treasure of supreme examples, lofty principles and humane values which are still valid for self-denial, emulation and inspiration in consultation and democracy, discussion, thinking, elevation of the status of the mind, appreciation of the role of innovative and independent-thinking scholars and respect for human expertise in promoting the quest for knowledge and the rejection of blind mimicry, freedom of thought, respect for opinions, in liberating the conscience from fear, intellectual terrorism and intellectual stagnation, in resisting oppression, corruption, apostasy and deviation, in rejecting foreign dominance and colonialism, in supporting national unity, condemning fanaticism and factionalism and /supporting/ the sanctity of the expiation of Moslems, and in asserting the unity of human fraternity, world peace and the right of self-determination.

The National Progressive Unionist Grouping has the objective of making religion, in its tolerant, proper sense, a force from which our people may derive aid in overcoming their current problems, building their new society to realize their interests, and regaining their worldwide cultural role.

The genuine religious values which the divine religions have brought forth are not afflicted by debilitation or obsolescence; they still are and will remain a great force constantly driving man and human society toward progress.

Islam, and the strictures it has brought forth, must be sought for inspiration as a major source of legislation, in bringing its principles into focus and underlining its brilliant essence.

Islam distinguishes between permitting ownership and giving property free rein. While it makes ownership legitimate, it makes property a social function: "Spend from what you have been appointed the overseer of." It prohibits usury and exploitation, rejects monopolization and harm, prohibits the hoarding of wealth and blatant differences among people: "Lest there be a nation of the rich people in your midst." It approves of the principle of public ownership; the prophet, on whom be God's peace and blessings, said, "The people are partners in three things, water, pasturage and fire." He emphasized that human activity is the sole criterion of values: "People own only what they have striven for." He made men and



women equal in human worth and compensation for work and made social peace contingent upon social justice, which is just peace between the dominant and the dominated. He called for the acquisition of knowledge. The prophet of God, on whom be God's blessings and peace, said "Whoever goes forth in quest of knowledge is in God's path until he returns" and "For anyone who has trod a road in which he seeks knowledge, God will facilitate a road to paradise for him." The Koran urges respect for specialization and human expertise: "Ask of people of good repute when you are ignorant."

While Islam stipulates that sufficient material goods are to be provided for people, but not monopolized, exploited or used for self-aggrandizement, it also stipulates the right to benefit from money within the limits set forth by God, without exploitation, on the condition that such rights as this wealth possesses be used for the benefit of God and society. As Abu Bakr the Just did with people who refrained from giving alms, the ruler may use the right of society to set these people's crooked path right even if by force. Indeed, religion considers leaving just one member of society lost or hungry to be a denial of religion itself: "Have you seen those who negate religion? They are the ones who abandon orphans and do not urge the feeding of the poor." The sayings attributed to the prophet, on whom be peace, are "No one monopolizes except the wrongful" "Let anyone who abandons the feeble-minded (weak children), let him come to me," "Whoever possesses a good thing which has grown, let him bestow it on those whose good things have not," and "Let there be neither harm nor damage."

Christianity has offered us splendid examples of brotherhood among man, renunciation of the pleasures of life and social solidarity. Jesus exhorted his disciples "Do not acquire gold, silver, copper, or raiments." (The Gospel According to Matthew, 9:10). Concerning the first Christian society, it was stated in the Acts of the Apostles, 2: 44-45: "All those who believed were together and they had everything jointly; they sold and divided up property and possessions among all, and everyone had needs. There was no needy person among them."

Our belief in the real understanding of religion has made us stress the importance of the role of religion in advancing the people's struggle against tyranny, colonialism, backwardness and ignorance. The events of history underline the truth of what we are saying. The noble al-Azhar was in the forefront of society in defense of civilization and human values, and the church called for love, brotherhood and peace. Therein lies our emphasis on supporting these religious institutions so they can perform their role in defending truth, freedom and man in an integrated society.

True religious faith does not at all conflict with the movement of ideas or with human efforts on behalf of a better life. Almighty God has stressed the need to exert human effort and the strength of its effectiveness, saying, "God does not change the circumstances of a people until they change what is in their own spirits."

Out of concern for the soundness of the framework in which the mission to religion is placed, the Grouping considers that mosques and places of worship are open tribunals for the broadest masses and must be liberated from the power of the state and trusteeship of government agencies. This, in particular, is to be brought about through:

1. Uniting the mission in the Office of Religious Endowments and al-Azhar under the supervision of a committee of elder scholars, with attention to raising the material, moral and intellectual level of the people giving the call.

2. Choosing the Shaykh of al-Azhar by election from the committee of elder scholars and electing the committee of elder scholars from among the religious scholars.

The question has now become clear. It is an interconnected series. Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's political thinking is not distinct from his religious thinking. The material world and religion, therefore, are two sides of the same integrated coin, which is life.

There is an extremely important point on the question of social affiliation. That is women, and also the issue of young people and other important subjects.

Until the next instalment, tomorrow.

/20 Jun 81 p 9/

/Text/ Liberating the occupied territories and defending national independence are being raised again in Egypt and are being presented in the same forms as they had been before the 23 July revolution and complete Egyptian independence under the aegis of this revolution.

Shall we cast blame on al-Sadat or on the Egyptian people? Shall we cast it on the nationalist forces, on Israel, on the Arab countries, or on America?

The fact is that it is a complicated circle with interlocking sides. However, we are highly honored that Khalid Muhyi-al-Din is present with us to devote himself to a description of these dimensions. This was the text of his conversation with us:

Among the facts of history which no longer admit of dispute is the fact that planting Israel in the heart of the Arab nation was a colonialist scheme aimed at settling people whose goal was to continue guaranteeing colonialist interests in this area rich in mineral resources and oil, to continue to dominate its excellent geographic situation, and to prevent the development or unification of the peoples in this region, which would constitute a danger to colonialist interests. International capitalism gave its blessing to this colonialist plan and took part in carrying it out, developing it and protecting it and in developing its own role in this sphere, subsequent to the development of its movement and change of the center of gravity within it until the United States of America came to occupy its center.

Also among the facts of history which no longer admit of dispute is the fact that the United States of America's interests in the Arab nation and the American presence in the Middle East did not just start with the existence of Israel--rather, they preceded it by many years for reasons bearing on the strategy and the interests of the United States of America in the world and in the Middle East, when America emerged from its isolation, began actively to come forth into the world at

the end of World War One, and took part in the exploitation of the oil of Iraq, then, in the forties, gained a monopoly over the oil of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Out of all this, history has recorded an important fact which is no longer easy to deny or distort, which is that the Arab-Israeli dispute, since it began, has in essence been a struggle for liberation launched by the liberation movement of the Arab nation against world colonialism, the world Zionist movement and its aggressive embodiment in the state of Israel.

Throughout the stages of this struggle, no change worth mentioning has taken place in the parties to it, since we observe that from the outset it has been going on among:

1. The forces of colonialism and international imperialism, principally Great Britain and France at the beginning, then the United States of America, world Zionism and its embodiment Israel.
2. The Arab liberation movement, with Palestine, Egypt and Syria at its heart, supported by the Arab peoples and all progressive forces, foremost among them the national liberation movement in the world and the Socialist countries.

The contradiction between world colonialism and the Arab peoples is a major one which will not admit of reconciliation but will end only with the liquidation of colonialist dominance and the aggressive Zionist presence in the Arab nation.

#### America and the Arab Nation

America leads the imperialist powers in the region. The United States of America has been strategically interested in this region, and America is increasing its interest in it, because it is acquiring increasing importance with every year.

To give proof of that, it is sufficient to point out that the proved and declared reserves of Arab crude oil, the nerve of modern Western civilization, come to 49.7 percent of the total reserves of the entire world, that the Arab world's total exports of oil in 1980 are estimated at about 30 million barrels a day /sic/ or 73.4 percent of total oil exports in the whole world, that the Arab nation produced 17.9 million barrels a day in 1978 and 19.6 million barrels a day in 1979, that the Arab Gulf area alone produced close to 15 million barrels a day in 1978 and 16.4 million barrels a day in 1979, that it is thus becoming the most important center of economic influence on America and Europe in particular and in the whole world, and that just four Arab oil producing nations possessed an estimated cash surplus from the receipts from their exports in 1977 of \$141 billion (these were the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with \$77 billion, Kuwait with \$38 billion, the state of the United Arab Emirates with \$21 billion and Qatar with \$5 billion). It is expected that cash surplus in 1980 will come to close to \$300 billion by the most conservative estimates; most of this surplus is directed toward investment in the countries of Western Europe and the United States of America, and a large part of it is spent on importing from these countries--showing the Arab nation's tremendous economic effect on the capitalist world. To this one should add the increase in

the volume of American investments in the region and in Israel, above and beyond the strategic position of the Arab nation as a crossroads between the continents of the world and the beacon of world illumination since earliest times.

It is very important that the Arab national liberation movement not fail to follow up on the development of the very special relationship which binds America to Israel. From the economic standpoint, American investments in Israel are greater than \$1 billion, representing more than half the foreign capital invested in Israel; these have been made by 200 American companies. Twenty percent of Israel's foreign debts are to the American government and American institutions and organizations and at least 40 percent of the massive annual balance of payments deficit arises from unequal trade with America. The economic aid America offers Israel each year without letup represents about 40 percent of the aid America gives the whole world. From the military standpoint, since the signing of the first Separation of Forces Agreements in 1975, Israel has received American loans and aid of not less than \$12 billion.

America's interests in the Middle East in general and in Israel in particular make the support of Israel, in particular, mandatory for America. The relationship between the two has been proceeding in the direction of increased American action in the Arab nation in the past 50 years, but the objectives of the movement have to a large degree been fixed. One can summarize the goals of current American strategy in the Middle East as revolving about a desire to monopolize influence in the area by means of:

1. Attainment of its comprehensive strategic interests in guaranteeing the continued stable flow of oil at reasonable prices.
2. Attainment of its regional strategic interests in reasserting its influence in the Middle East, not just by relying on Israel and the conservative Arab powers but also by expanding American influence to all countries in the area without exception.
3. Cutting the Arab national liberation movement off from its friends in the world national liberation movement and the socialist countries and setting them against one another to deprive the Arab nationalist movement of the support and aid it has been receiving from them.

American strategic interests in the Middle East explain to us the nature of the American role and activity in the region since 1967, when it, and Arab reaction, gave Israel the green light to carry out the June 1967 aggression in order to strike out at the Egyptian revolution and liquidate the Arab national liberation movement and the Palestinian revolution. The United States of America succeeded to a large extent in exploiting the results of the defeat of the Arabs in June 1967, stamping the struggle in the region with its mark and leading to a perceptible development in the style and format of the confrontation.

The defeat was also a suitable opportunity for the conservative Arab forces to gain increasing influence over the totality of common Arab action against the Israeli aggression, and it helped bring the remnants of the reactionary classes



back onto the political stage in Egypt; they tried to acquire new positions through cooperation and coordination with parasitic capitalistic elements. These forces tried to press their special interpretation of the defeat and press their opinion on how to confront the aggression and regain the occupied territories. These forces gradually succeeded in gaining support for their viewpoint. They were helped in this by the late Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir during a delicate stage of the development of the Egyptian-Israeli confrontation, and these forces managed to occupy influential positions in the agencies of the authorities and the media.

Thus two contradictory policies of confronting the Israeli occupation have come to prominence since the aggression. They express contradictory social interests:

#### The First Policy

This has been embraced by parasitic capitalist elements, major agricultural land-owners and the remnants of the classes which the 23 July revolution identified. This is founded on separating the Zionist aggression from imperialism, in particular the United States of America. Consequently, it is concentrating its efforts on satisfying America in the name of its interests in the Arab countries, in the hope that Washington will abandon its stepdaughter, and is trying to persuade it that the Arab countries can play Israel's role in protecting American interests and in carrying out American strategy. From the beginning, this policy has entailed the danger of responding to pressure and offering repeated concessions not just with regard to the Palestinian people's cause but also in stressing America's positions in the Arab nation and preparing the way for Israel, under the slogan of peace and good relations, to play the role which it has long dreamed of, the role of general agent for the multinational corporations in the area.

#### The Second Policy

This has been embraced by the national and progressive forces and is founded on a perception of the truth of the organic relationship between Zionism and imperialism. It is aware of Israel's basic role in the schemes of colonial dominance in their new and old forms. It is also aware of the mentality of the European settlers who have established dominance over Israel and are causing it to imagine that it can exist in the area only through military force which can impose a fait accompli and regional expansion, crush the Arab will, then extend economic influence over the natural resources of the region, foremost among them oil, and hit at Egypt as a basic Israeli target, since a strong, liberated progressive Egypt will be an insurmountable obstacle to Zionist and colonialist dreams and designs. Therefore, when we are fighting or negotiating, we Egyptians are engaged in an Egyptian battle which at the same time is an Arab one, since Egyptian security is firmly linked to Arab security. The history of the Arab nation has proved that the submission of any part of it to foreign domination soon encompasses the whole area, and that the liberation of any part of it cannot become established until the whole area is liberated.

America has not hesitated to use its influence to establish the fait accompli that resulted from the aggression in order to weaken the national springboard for liquidating the aggression. It suspended the Geneva Conference, thwarted the



mission of Gunnar Jarring, the United Nations representative, and prevented the issuance of a Security Council resolution condemning the Israeli aggression and stipulating full Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories which was oriented toward the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, until the October 1973 war took place, giving strong support for the proponents of a policy of effecting a resolution via the United States of America.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din has demonstrated to us in a manner which is not tinged by doubt that America is responsible.

However, are there any positions which have proved the firmness and genuineness of Arab society, including, for example, the 6 October 1973 war? This is a long story.

/21 Jun 81 p 15/

/Text/ What is the truth behind the October war, and what are the achievements made by Anwar al-Sadat, specifically? Are they individual achievements or the result of the struggle of the whole Arab people? Was the October victory really, as al-Sadat has pointed out, the step which made contact with Israel inevitable?

al-Sadat, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's comrade in struggle, was a member of the Free Officers' Group. Together, they were involved in the most difficult, complex and critical situations in the revolution. What is Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's view on the policy al-Sadat is now following, especially after the great achievement of 6 October, which was a purely Arab one, not just an Egyptian one?

What is the United States' ultimate role in guiding Egypt's policy? These are all issues which in essence are the headings of subjects to which Khalid Muhyi-al-Din responds today. This is the text of his conversation with us:

#### The October 1973 War Opened the Way to a Solution of the National Cause

The October 1973 war, on which President al-Sadat issued the decision, was the product of a number of factors; without all of them, it would not have been possible to issue the decision to go to war or achieve the results which were attained. First of all, it was based on the unremitting effort exerted by the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and the military commanders to rebuild the armed forces on modern foundations, a process which was started directly after the aggression and continued until the war took place. Secondly, it was based on the efforts and sacrifices of Egyptian workers, technicians, and engineers in building missile bases and on the productive capacity available to the public sector, which was mobilized to serve the Arab public. Thirdly, it was based on the war of attrition and the experience and lessons the armed forces acquired from their various struggles. Fourthly, it was based on Soviet military and economic aid and Arab aid. Thus, the October war occurred as a consecration of the efforts and sacrifices of the Arab people over the years of defeat and their insistence on liberating their occupied territory through the force of arms. This war was severe, ferocious and painful for the Zionist entity, since it established the corrupt nature of the theory of Israeli security, the possibility of inflicting severe losses on the Israeli army, and the Arabs' ability to use modern weapons in accordance with the most modern

military theories--showing the possibility of increasing their ability to confront Israel. On top of this there was the tremendous destruction which modern weapons inflicted on all sides in the war. These results helped promote an interest in many world capitalist circles in arriving at a sound political settlement to the Arab-Israeli struggle. The United States of America was active in making a determined attempt to arrive at an American resolution to the Arab-Israeli struggle, and in this it was in agreement with Israel.

America wants a solution which will permanently guarantee its interests and support its economic, political and military dominance of the region. Israel wants peace with the Arab countries in circumstances favorable for it which will permit it to establish economic and cultural relations with neighboring Arab countries--thus enabling neocolonialism to tighten its grip on the economy of the Arab countries. It has not been lost on Israel that that cannot be achieved unless it is in a position of strength which will permit it to impose this new state of affairs. It has armed itself in an unprecedented manner, and its source has been the United States of America.

The Egyptian authorities have embraced the policy of resolution via the United States of America as a natural result of its social, political and economic options, as represented by the economic liberalization. In this, it has coincided with the American role, and the policy arose of proceeding step by step, /building/warning stations, accelerating reconstruction of the canal cities immediately upon termination of the October war, prior to Israel's withdrawal from the occupied territories, and making the partial separation of forces agreements, while America was arming Israel to the teeth and supporting the influence of the reactionary regimes in the area in affecting the Arab-Israeli struggle and drawing it away from its true nature as a national liberation movement hostile to colonialism and Zionism. America also strove to isolate Egypt from the Arab countries and to cause the situation in Lebanon to explode with the goal of liquidating the Palestinian revolution, creating a vortex of tension and kindling the Arab struggle far from the front lines with Israel.

These steps have led to their logical conclusion. There occurred President al-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem, the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, which in reality entailed a partial solution to the Arab-Israeli struggle and a separate peace between the Egyptian government and Israel that included the abandonment of the Palestinian cause in exchange for the return of a demilitarized Sinai of faulty sovereignty. America played the role of the full partner, adopted a military role in Egypt, and brought the Egyptian government and Israel together in a strategic alliance in defense of American interests in the Arab nation. Egypt entered the roster of the countries subordinate to American hegemony and thus the independent country of Egypt was transformed into part of the imperialist scheme, carrying out its role as a partner in the new trilateral alliance with Israel and the United States of America.

This thwarted the results of the October war and achieved the opposite of what ought to have happened, and the Egyptian authorities bear the responsibility for this. They have no excuse. From the beginning, the national forces have given warning of the gravity of this course. The National Progressive Unionist Groupiny Party recorded its clear stand in the party's first response to the government

statement to the People's Assembly in December 1976, stating that Israel's real objective was to have peace take place between itself and the Arab countries under circumstances favorable for it which would allow it to establish economic and cultural relations with the neighboring Arab countries, enabling neocolonialism to tighten its grip on the economy of the Arab countries. Israel is determined to achieve these objectives from a position of strength on the one hand, with every means of deception on the other.

From the first moment the National Progressive Unionist Grouping also opposed President al-Sadat's visit to Israel and declared with absolute clarity "The practical result of a continuation of this policy will be the practical elimination of the Geneva peace conference and the creation of a sole peaceful alternative which will lead to a separate resolution with Israel whether we like it or not. Attaining a partial resolution is the attainment of a basic part of the Zionist dream, whose price will be paid by Egypt first, above any other Arab people. Peace in this form will not, as some people claim, achieve a solution to our economic problems: "Peaceful settlement between Egypt and Israel in accordance with the context set forth by the Camp David agreements will not in practice just result in what we have called a separate solution--it will consecrate the process of ending and liquidating Egypt's Arabhood and Egypt's Arab affiliation; to the contrary it will determine Egypt's future alignment with strategy in the Arab region and Africa."

This was the National Progressive Unionist Grouping's position as it declared it in its statements in 1977 and 1978; it has come to pass in full and became a fait accompli in 1979 and 1980, by the acknowledgment of all parties.

The result is that the United States of America has consolidated its political and economic influence over the Arab world and has increased its military presence through military bases in Sinai and the gulf area, military facilities in Egypt, Somalia, Oman and Kenya, and fleets in the Indian Ocean, Red Sea and Mediterranean area. It has announced without equivocation its readiness to occupy any part of the Arab nation in which the situation will threaten the vital interests of the United States of America.

This is not to be considered the only development resulting from the policy of a separate peace with Israel. Rather, the Zionist presence in the region is no longer based just on armed invasion and colonialist racist settlement in Palestine--it has also come in Egypt to be based on agreements and treaties which are unequal but have been clothed in the garb of legitimacy. Thus the Zionist presence has adopted two main forms which for the first time in the history of the struggle are intertwined.

The first form: settler colonialism in Palestine.

The second form: neocolonialism of a special type in Egypt. Here the source of the danger lies in the fact that Egypt is the main link in the Arab body and that dominating it means opening the door to dominance over the whole Arab nation. To that one should add that through the peace treaty Egypt has become isolated on the Arab stage and has departed from the arena of Arab confrontation; thus the Zionist

danger in the Arab nation, with all its regimes, resources, especially oil, and possibilities for unity, is multiplying in a manner which cannot be compared with any previous stage. This dangerous situation explains to us the reasons for the conservative Arab regimes' opposition to the policy of a separate peace between the ruling regime in Egypt and Israel. It threatens these very regimes with the danger of falling under Zionist dominance.

This dangerous situation places us directly before our historic responsibilities of formulating a proper strategy for resolving the national cause. What should be the objectives of this strategy? What should be its basic components? What is the appropriate program for putting it into practice?

The proper strategy for resolving the cause must be an integrated alternative to the joint strategy of imperialism and Zionism.

The requisite strategy must specify its general goal as that of attaining a permanent comprehensive just peace instead of a separate one.

Comprehensive peace here means turning the region of the Middle East and southwest Asia into an area of peace devoid of foreign military bases, foreign fleets and all forms of military connection with foreign countries.

Such a peace cannot be achieved without a solution to the Arab Israel struggle which is based on the recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, their right to determine their destiny and establish their national independent state on the territory of Palestine, and the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories.

Such a peace cannot be attained without the participation of all the parties concerned in the efforts exerted to attain it, and it must be underwritten by the international community through the United Nations.

Such a peace does not mean the suspension of the struggle against colonialism and Zionism and their goals.

This goal will meet with violent attacks from American imperialism in the region and must therefore rely on support from a broad international front which our party and the other nationalist forces will try to win to the ranks of this strategy. In the forefront of the forces whose interests prepare them to take such a position are Japan, the countries of Western Europe and the socialist countries which find it in their interest to eliminate the factors of tension in this region and to prevent the United States' monopolization of dominance over it.

The essential condition for building this broad international front which can support the strategy of a just comprehensive peace as an alternative to a separate peace lies in the coalescing of Egyptian and Arab nationalist forces as a nucleus of the nationalist forces in the area of the Middle East and all of southwest Asia in order to mobilize international public opinion behind this goal.



However, this will all require adequate time and will demand a perceptible change in the Egyptian and Arab situation. This makes it incumbent that the Egyptian national forces take the initiative of achieving a national program for proceeding along the road to a just comprehensive peace.

#### The National Program

1. Liberating Egyptian will from American and Israeli dominance and liquidating the American military presence in Egypt.
2. Liberating occupied Egyptian territories and rejecting all diminution of Egyptian sovereignty over all Egyptian soil.
3. Preventing the extension of the policy of a separate peace to other parts of the Arab nation and resisting it in Egypt on the popular level in order to make it fail.
4. Struggling to bring Egypt back to its natural status as the leader of the Arab national liberation movement, the group of African and Islamic countries and the nonaligned movement, instead of its current status as a partner in the execution of American strategy in the region.
5. Supporting intrinsic Arab powers, conducting full coordination among Arab nationalist and progressive forces in confronting the American Zionist scheme of dominating the region, stressing the linkup of national causes and considering military power a basic condition for the possible attainment of a real solution to the national cause.
6. Causing the main struggle against the policy of a separate peace to dominate over peripheral side struggles among Arab countries.
7. Providing the necessary conditions for the Arab people in every country to exercise their basic democratic rights and freedoms, participate actively in formulating decisions and overseeing their execution, and constructing a broad Arab popular front containing all forces and parties of different intellectual and social origins around a single cause, which is that of bringing down the policy of a separate peace and striving with all military, political and economic means to have the "Arab peace" plan take the place of the "Camp David peace" plan.
8. Comprehensively supporting the struggle of the Palestinian people on and outside the occupied territories to defend their national rights, materially and morally supporting the Palestinian revolution, maintaining full solidarity with the Palestine Liberation Organization on grounds that it is the fraternal people's sole legitimate representative in their struggle for their right to determine their destiny and their right to establish their democratic state on the territory of Palestine (which will guarantee equal rights for all its subjects despite differences of religion, race and belief), and supporting the right of the Palestinian revolution to continue the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy in the battle, its right to adopt independent political decisions without tutelage from anyone regarding anything related to its destiny and the destiny of its people, and its right to take part independently in all efforts made to liquidate the Israeli aggression and restore peace to the region.



9. Constantly unearthing the negative features of the policy of a separate peace on economic and democratic conditions in Egypt and its role in aggravating the economic crisis and anti-democratic measures.

10. Strengthening Arab solidarity to liberate occupied Arab territories.

11. Mobilizing all forces, especially the forces of national liberation of the peoples of the third world, the Islamic world, the countries of Western Europe and the socialist countries, which support our struggle in the international context.

It appears that Khalid Muhyi-al-Din has preferred not to embark with us on the adventure of talking about international relations.

When he raises the issue of America in the Middle East in his conversation, he must of necessity be aiming at more distant matters. In any event, we will leave you until the next instalment, tomorrow.

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/Text/ International relations: this phrase, in fact, is the most urbane way of describing those suspect practices in the relationships among the major powers! In an era governed by big entities, such as this era of ours, the smaller entities, by which we mean the countries of the third world, must adopt one of two positions for themselves--alignment or nonalignment--and must bear the responsibility for either option, in order to achieve independence and dignity for themselves. The American game in the Arab East is well understood and has been exposed, even if it has been professionally played!

Today Khalid Muhyi-al-Din is talking to us about international relations, relations between the big and the small, and the American game.

This was the text of his conversation with us:

Our party is still pursuing its trade union missions at a time in which the climate is clouded over and imperialism is intensifying its attacks on the policy of international detente and exposing world peace to grievous dangers.

The draft of our party program stipulated "The main phenomenon of international relations is the constant triumph of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the growth of a policy of international detente, and the increased ability to repudiate war as a method of international struggle." This definition is correct if we take up modern developments in their general historic course. However, it is a definition which might expose our analyses to flagrant political errors if we neglect the fact that imperialism must fiercely resist every achievement benefiting the peoples of the world and that the course of international detente must consequently face convulsions and vicissitudes.

#### The Crisis of Capitalism

This is because success in achieving certain steps along the road to international detente does not mean that imperialism's nature has changed or that it has

abandoned its aggressive methods. Rather, they have perhaps increased in ferocity with the increased aggravation of long-term crisis that international capitalism has been going through since the early seventies. The effects of this crisis are plain to the eye: inflation, unemployment, monetary problems and an intensified struggle for markets. To that one should add the fact that the trend in international capitalism is toward mergers and the establishment of multinational corporations, none of which has alleviated the severity of endemic contradictions. All that has happened is that these contradictions have been met by the growing military power of the socialist world, which has made it mandatory to avoid comprehensive nuclear confrontation with that world, with the result that confrontation has taken other forms.

The fact is that international detente which has highlighted the need to renounce overall nuclear war has not yet put a limit to the flare-up of wars using traditional weapons. These wars have proliferated in Africa, Asia and Latin America in recent years. The outbreak of such wars in the third world is only an expression of the fact that circumstances are not yet ripe for responding to imperialist schemes and achieving the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of the third world without resorting to war.

#### The Flourishing of the Arms Trade

So far, decisive results have not been achieved in limiting nuclear armament, nor have there been tangible results in lessening armament in general and establishing demilitarized nuclear arms areas. America has frozen the final signing of the second strategic arms limitation agreement and has decided to supply Western Europe with a new mountain of nuclear missiles. The arms trade is flourishing in many areas of the world, especially ours.

While it is true that the climate of international detente has achieved results in limiting the danger of direct military confrontation between the capitalist and socialist worlds, it has not yet had the effect of alleviating the intensity of the tension between the advanced capitalist countries and the newly-independent countries of the third world. In fact, the opposite may perhaps be the case.

Imperialism has started seeking new ways to co-opt the countries of the third world again and prevent their political independence from growing into economic independence. This is because imperialism is deficient in responding to the legitimate demands of the third world now that it has received its sovereign rights to determine its destiny by itself. If imperialism responds to these demands it must threaten the essence of their values with ruin.

#### The New Economic Order

For this reason, imperialism is insistently standing against attempts by third world countries to establish a new world economic order. The third world has become the major arena on which the most violent international confrontations are taking place. This is what the draft of our program talked about when it specified that international detente is not preventing the continued, indeed aggravated,

confrontation between the victories being won by the world movement against imperialism and the grave dangers which neocolonialism still poses.

While the prevention of nuclear war between the socialist and capitalist world has become a matter of benefit to all mankind, the peoples of the third world who are completing their political, economic and cultural liberation and are fighting on behalf of the progress of their peoples are of necessity bearing the torch of change and development in the entire world situation. Stabilizing the conditions of the world in the form it is in now means continuing their exploitation and subservience. Therefore they are fighting for national liberation and are fighting to rid themselves of different forms of exploitation and subservience, the awareness of the organic interrelationship between national revolution and social progress is increasing among them, and a large number of them are viewing the socialist camp as a natural ally, as they are all benefiting from the balance of power between the two superpowers, who have crushed the monopoly of power which once belonged to capitalism.

### The Third World, Scene of the Struggle

Thus the third world, as it often is, is the main stage for the most conspicuous confrontations between the great powers themselves. This in particular is the case with respect to the Middle East specifically. Since the formulation of our party's draft was completed in mid-1977, Egypt has witnessed transformations which prove that it has totally abandoned the premises of its former foreign policy which dated from the time of the revolution--transformations which were not restricted to means for confronting the Arab-Israeli struggle alone but went beyond that to include all the features of the country's foreign policy. President al-Sadat in November 1977 made the visit to Jerusalem, as a result of which a qualitative change occurred in the method of confronting Israel, since the Camp David agreements were signed, then the separate peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. The source of danger in what has happened is that the change does not concern Egypt and Israel alone, or the national dimensions of the Arab-Israeli struggle, but that Egypt, along with Israel, has come to constitute an axis taking the place of Iran in the American scheme to dominate the Middle East. After the fall of the Shah's regime, it has been determined that Egypt, along with Israel, is to constitute the nucleus of a new American alliance, or, in other words, that the United States has the goal of having Egypt, with Israel, assume the role of policeman to defend its strategic, economic and oil interests in the Middle East.

The purpose of this treaty was not to remedy the bases of the Arab-Israeli struggle and transcend its causes, but to constitute a jumping-off spot from which America could set out to confront the rising liberation movements throughout the African continent and the Arab nation, specifically in the southwest, facing the horn of Africa, so that the centers of regions surrounding the Iranian revolution could be consolidated on America's behalf and the revolution could be contained through them. In conjunction with the effort America has made to guarantee the signing of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, its fleets have begun to move about in the Indian Ocean, American security has been re-established in the gulf area, and these military measures of special importance have become prominent, now that America has failed to make Saudi Arabia bear the burden of supporting the Camp David agreements.

We have entered into the context of the imperialist game with the Arab world. It is a game in which we cannot conceal our curiosity for Khalid Muhyi-al-Din's followup and examination of facts, and, with his promise that we will receive that, our appointment will be the coming instalment, tomorrow.

/23 Jun 81 p 11/

/Text/ Here we are, at the final way-station of our tour with the fighting man Khalid Muhyi-al-Din. Here, in this instalment, he gathers up the findings he has made in the past 13 instalments on the Arab situation and imperialist conspiracies.

The Arabs' position at this moment still holds promise. All the imperialist Zionist schemes have failed, more or less, except for the scheme of the Egyptian-Israeli peace! All America's gambles have failed in the face of Arab rigidity, Arab oil and the religion of the Arabs, Islam! Here Khalid Muhyi-al-Din is completing the discussion on this point, detailing the Egyptian leftist party's in the coming stage.

This is the text of his final conversation with us.

#### The Religious Currents

Religion as a point of departure, has been an extremely important element in wrecking the American scheme which is aimed at gaining support for the Camp David agreements from Saudi Arabia and the conservative Arab states. It is not in the power of these countries, which believe that Islam is a religion and a state, to give agreement to the framework of a peace with Israel which would neglect the Palestine cause and would fail to guarantee the return of Arab Jerusalem. In addition, religion has come to have a growing role in Arab political life with the rising status of Arab regimes that derive their legitimacy from Islam and have come to have great influence thanks to oil resources.

Our party rejects the Western claims that have been spread about since the Iranian revolution in the attempt to depict every resistance to imperialist schemes based on religious premises as firmly and exclusively characterized by a quality of fanaticism, backwardness and reaction. There certainly are reactionary fanatic religious currents, and our party opposes them. However, our party totally rejects the statement that every political movement which operates from religious premises is of necessity reactionary and backward in character. We have proof today that this fact is not restricted to the Islamic world alone. In numerous other arenas, especially in Latin America, Christian religious currents have risen to prominence and have attained such status and gravity that Pope John Paul II has found it incumbent upon himself to deal with them in his visits to Latin America. The stage of religion is one of the prominent stages in the modern political struggle, especially in our Arab nation. Our party refuses to abandon this stage in order that the forces of imperialism and reaction may act tyrannically within it.

#### The Nonaligned Movement

Our party, in the face of imperialism's renewed attempts to strike out at the achievements of international detente and to increase the state of tension and



dangers of war in the world--especially in the Middle East region, in spite of all America's claims to be attempting to make peace reign there--adheres to the premises and principles of the July revolution in Egypt's foreign policy, foremost among them the principle of nonalignment.

Recent evidence has grown that the nonaligned movement is still an effective force in the international arena, capable of standing up to aggressive imperialist schemes. Before the convening of the sixth conference of the nonaligned movement in Havana, the imperialist and reactionary media gambled that this movement had entered a state of contraction. However, this conference of nonaligned countries had the greatest representation of all this movement's conferences, as it contained 96 countries.

Thus the movement proved that it is advancing, not retreating. At this conference, the Palestine cause dwarfed the Camp David agreements, supported the rights of the people of Palestine to determine their destiny and establish their independent state, and stressed the role of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate leader of the people of Palestine.

Our party has committed itself to the fixed principles of nonalignment. This has been conspicuous in the party's position on the events in Afghanistan. The party's statement on these events held that while it rejected aggressive military intervention into the affairs of Afghanistan which imperialism and Pakistan have embarked on, it also did not approve the continued presence of Soviet Union forces on the territory of Afghanistan and recommended a remedy to the Afghan crisis in the context of the nonaligned movement, far removed from interventions by any of the two superpowers.

#### The Party's Principles

The current escalation of dangers in the region and the world call more than at any previous time for our party to arm itself with revolutionary awareness, to adhere more than at any time in the past to the basic principles of the party, and to confront everything that arises in the international and regional context from the premise of the interests of the liberation and progress of our country and Arab nation. This means, in practice, that:

In confronting warmongers and people who benefit from the intensification of international tension, we will fight to protect peace on firm, true bases, on just foundations, for the sake of the triumph of international detente and peaceful co-existence.

In confronting the spread of nuclear weapons, we will struggle to prohibit them and to have the Middle East region devoid of these weapons and all foreign soldiers.

In confronting the colonialist plunder of the resources of the developing countries, we will struggle to put a limit to this issue and will support the establishment of just, equal economic relations in the context of a new world economic order.



In confronting the attempts of international capitalism to exploit oil surpluses in order to consecrate backwardness, social injustice and class bias, we will struggle to have oil money invested for the sake of development and social justice and the spread of national cultures.

In confronting imperialist attempts to attract Egypt in order to integrate its strategy with comprehensive American strategy, we adhere to the principles of non-alignment, refuse to join international blocs and military alliances, and establish balanced relations with the major countries on grounds of respect for our independence and nonintervention in our internal affairs.

In confronting efforts by the international forces of reaction to distort the picture of enlightened religious movements which stand up to colonialism and social injustice, we are fighting to expand the area of political struggle so that it may offer honorable devout nationalist forces the best opportunities to take off.

Our party, notwithstanding laws which do not permit it to establish relations with progressive parties outside Egypt, has not neglected foreign policy in its struggle. We have always supported the nonaligned movement and have demanded that it be supported and be closely joined together. We have welcomed the resolutions of the Havana Conference and have risen up against displays of American air power in Saudi Arabia with criticisms and warning. We are constantly striving to expose the establishment of American bases especially on the territory of the Arab nation.

The imperialist conspiracies and schemes we have referred to, and the tragedy which has befallen the land of the Arabs, must not make us forget the fact that we in Egypt are experiencing the triumph of peoples. In the past 4 years, Mozambique and Angola have become independent, revolution has occurred in Iran, Indira Gandhi has returned to power in India, Mugabe has swept the elections in Zimbabwe, the people have triumphed in Nicaragua against a 40-year dictatorship and power has been assumed by a progressive government, and the revolution in Ethiopia has triumphed under terrible circumstances bequeathed to it by centuries of backward feudal rule. As all of these have triumphed, so must the Arab liberation movement triumph with its democratic, social and unionist horizons, because the Arab people aspire to this victory and are bringing forth the fighting people who can achieve it.

In conclusion: Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, one of the heroes of the 23 July 1952 revolution, is still following up on the course of the revolution in Egypt, although the Nasirite era has ended and the regime in Egypt is trying to pursue another course totally removed from the course of Nasirism and Arab socialism, a course which is alienating Egypt from the course of freedom, socialism and unity.

In spite of it all, our confidence that the Egyptian opposition parties will return things to their proper place and that everything will return to an Arab, unionist Egypt as it was, so that it will play its national progressive role in the region as the best it was, still remains.

Egypt will remain Arab, in spite of the conspiracy, in spite of the tragedy.

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## POLITICAL STABILITY OF ISLAMIC REPUBLIC HAILED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 14 Sep 81 p 2

[Editorial by S. Moadab: "Political Stability"]

[Text]

*Since the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran was formed the political opponents and the enemies of Iran have always tried to make the world believe that the Islamic regime will not last long. When the premier of the deposed shah fled to Paris, in his first televised interview he promised that in less than six months the "regime of Khomeini" would collapse and "democracy would come back to Iran". At the end of his six-month period Bakhtiar fixed another unspecified date.*

*On every occasion the Western media have been promising the imminent downfall of the Islamic regime. The criminal Iraqi self-imposed president, in the beginning of his war against Iran, said, "Khomeini has died and his regime has collapsed". On the anniversary of the abortive Nozheh coup d'etat, certain T. V. stations started to utter in chorus that "the Iranian regime is weakened and the army barracks are expressing their loyalty to the anti-Khomeini forces". And finally, recently the deposed Banisadr has been assuring his Western masters that the Islamic regime will fall in less than three months.*

*Whilst the enemies of the Islamic Republic are fully aware that what they say is without any foundation, why then do they spread much rumors?*

*In our opinion these elements try to show to the world that instability reigns in Iran. They think that if they succeed in deceiving the world opinion they will be able to isolate the Islamic Republic politically and economically. A last example of our enemies' attempt to make believe that Iran is not stable is the false report they give to our petroleum customers. These people pretend that the Iranian government cannot keep its promises in delivering oil on the time stated in mutual contracts. But almost every buyer of the Iranian oil knows that*

despite the Iraqi-imposed war we have been constantly in position to show our trustworthiness to the outside world. As most of the oil dealers know, our defensive systems have downed more than 40 Iraqi warplanes near our oil terminal. Moreover all military experts are fully convinced that the Islamic aircraft have free access to the enemy's oil installations. Whenever we have decided to bomb the Iraqi oil terminals we have done it successfully. Concerning political stability, all political analysts know that if any one of the grave political assassinations like the ones in Iran had been carried out in any Middle East country the situation there would have been much different than that in here. When the criminal explosion killed more than 72 of the best servants of the Islamic Republic, many foreign radios started saying that the Islamic regime has been crushed. But very amazingly we saw that all the lost men were replaced and the Islamic Republic continued its way with more momentum and energy.

When President Raja'i and Premier Bahonar were martyred again our enemies celebrated the "downfall of Khomeini's regime". But we again saw that notwithstanding the losses among the very dear servants of Islam, the government was re-formed and life continued normally in Iran. And now our numerous enemies have lost all form of credibility and no intelligent individual has the least respect for what they say. The world public opinion has full confidence that the regime in Iran does not rest on a sole personality. Imam Khomeini, referring to the fact said, "If Khomeini is dead, Islam is alive" and who does not know that we have accomplished the revolution for Islam? If so, why do the terrorists still commit crimes by assassinating the top officials in Iran. For these savage acts we do have our own interpretation. They have reached a deadlock. And everybody knows that, as Imam said, a cat at bay would jump at a lion. The terrorists in Iran, within a wide spectrum, are now fully aware that their plots have miscarried and their objectives have not been reached. The evidence is their last crime committed in Tabriz. Without any respect to religious rites they have exploded a grenade killing an old prayer leader as well as six innocent people. We take this last attempt as a clear sign of political bankruptcy. The terrorist groups know that the morale of their partisans has degenerated and, in order to still retain their unaware followers, they resort to such crimes. On whom do the terrorists count? Don't they know that with each similar crime the public

wrath will escalate against them. Then why do they commit such crimes? If they wish to tell the world that the Islamic regime is shaky and that no law and order reigns in this country they are entirely wrong. In their private conversations the foreign diplomats express their esteem for the firmness and political maturity of our people. Today we can rarely find a diplomat who does not praise the stability of this regime. Terrorism exists all over the world. West European countries are vivid examples of our assertion. But what is praiseworthy is the fact that with all plots and attempts against this regime national consolidation presents itself in all dimensions. Today in the Islamic Republic, side by side the combatants, who are fighting against the Ba'athist enemy, we see the determined men and women who have decided to defend their freedom and independence. If political stability means the presence of masses at all political scenes, we are stable.

Let all our enemies know, as do know our friends, that as long as one Iranian remains alive, the Islamic Republic in this country will be stable and remain powerful. The heroism of our fighters in various war fronts, the determination of our brave people will force the world to believe that this republic is stable and will remain so.

'PARS' RIDICULES CARTER AS 'ISLAMOLGY' SCHOLAR

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 12 Sep 81 p 2

[Text] **TEHRAN, Sept. 11 (Pars)** — Jimmy Carter, the former U.S. President spoke on the Persian program of the VOA (Voice of America) at 5:00 on September 5th, in which he slated Ayatollah Khomeini's actions and said that by resorting to terrorism, assassination and massacres, Khomeini "has betrayed the principles of Islam."

Carter, who was being interviewed by the NHK (Japan Radio and Television) in Osaka added that in his opinion, Khomeini's influence in Iran was rapidly dwindling. According to Carter: "Khomeini is an unpredictable person, weak at times of crisis and betraying his aides." Carter who is visiting Japan with his family, also commented on the American hostage crisis in Iran, saying: "I still think Khomeini's regime intended in the beginning to take the Americans hostage only for a few days. But, when the terrorists seized the Americans as hostage, they themselves became powerful political agents and then the Ayatollah exhibited his weakness, keeping in mind weaknesses, and set out, backed up by public opinions, to betray the ones whom he had appointed to government posts, and violated Islamic law by punishing innocent men."

**Pars Commentary on the Carter Interview:**

The very important point which can be derived from Carter's speech, is his self-elevation to the level of an Islamic scholar, and in this new status he has recognized the violation of the Islamic law in Iran and according to the fatwa (religious award) of Mr. Carter,

the newly-converted "Muslim American", it seems that the execution of the American agents and the people who are assigned by the former SAVAK, and the CIA in Iran, to undermine the bases of the Islamic Republic, is a kind of betrayal to Islam.

After the defeat of all the conspiracies of the enemies of Islam against the Islamic Revolution and while all the satans with all their wicked schemes to crumble the Islamic Republic of Iran, have been disappointed, now we witness new plots using religion against religion, are being engineered by the enemies of Islam to fulfill their sinister goals and they are trying to fight the Islamic government of Iran by adducing to a distorted Islam.

For long, most of the reactionary rulers of the Islamic countries have presented the Islamic nations in deviatory fashions to idiotize their subject nations. It is amazing that people like Jimmy Carter assume the facade of the Islamic scholars to confront the Islamic Revolution of Iran, and vilify the Islamic regime for violating the Islamic laws. The more interesting point in Carter's remarks is his comments about the Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Nothing except this can be expected of a person, who has come to pieces as Carter has and whose failure in the presidential elections, as confirmed by all the observers, was due to his absurd acts vis-a-vis the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the hostage events.

As if Carter had forgotten that he has time and again predicted

the imminent fall of the Islamic Republic of Iran ever since the victory of the Islamic Revolution and even at times, in order to prove the realization of his predictions, resorted to absurd acts like military intervention in Tabas desert, Nozhe coup plot, Kurdistan events, the massacre of people in Turkaman Sahra and Gonabad, the Khuzestan explosions and the onslaughts of the Iraqi soldiers. Now that he should have come to himself after the lethal blows or defeat in U.S. elections, he is still repeating the same old things and talks about the "dwindling Khomeini influence". While any blind, short-sighted person with a little bit of political insight, certainly laughs at this hilarious, childish remark of Carter, he who has seen the million turnouts of the Iranian nation in the funeral of the martyrs of June 28th and August 30th and who should deem himself deserving the treatment he received from Imam which led to his toppling at once.

As for his other accusations that the Imam is "unpredictable, weak in times of crisis, and betraying his friends", one must note that the "unpredictability" of Imam Khomeini has always been one of the White House's greatest problems and as the friends and enemies of ours admit, this same unpredictability of Imam has always caused the leading diplomats of Washington never to reach the goals which they deemed they would fulfill for sure after the so-called scientific predictions. About as for his "weakness in the times of crisis", one need only to recall the Imam's bold and decisive measures after the eruption of each crisis which



have all guided the country to a more correct path and has bereft the enemies of Islam. As for "betraying friends" certainly what Carter meant, was not the true authentic aides of Imam, because if this had been the case, it would have meant great happiness for the U.S. President and his friends, and now that Carter has mentioned such a thing as the negative side of Imam, then it is clear that he means the rejection of the aides of the White House by Imam which has saddened Carter. Carter is glum over the rejection of certain people with U.S. inspired tastes.

Carter's remarks about the hostage events have no other reasons but an excuse to vent his rage, and the fact that he considered the 444 day captivity of the hostages as a weakness for Imam is amazing, because if we consider the unprecedented forbearance of the Imam vis-a-vis all the efforts of the satans as weaknesses, then woe to

the U.S. superpower and its intelligence/military networks, which for 444 days resorted to all their plots and which still failed to defeat a "weak" person despite their complex machinery against him.

If Carter had been defeated in the elections after his confrontation with the Islamic Revolution, he could have referred to the leader of the Revolution and the Muslim nation as "weak", but he is ignorant to see that everyone knows that however much he gives the Imam and the Islamic Revolution importance, after his failure in the presidential elections, he would exhibit his desperate efforts to justify his defeat, And in addition to that, the future American generations will curse Carter for having countered a "weak" leader and a nation and he himself was defeated instead, and brought disgrace for those who run the US regime.

CSO: 4600/200

# ACADEMICIANS DENOUNCE KHOMEYNI SAVAGERY

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 36, 4 Sep 81 pp 8-9

[Text] The Democratic Association of Universitarians, an organisation of "anti-imperialist and democrat" academics from universities and technical schools throughout Iran, has appealed to academics and intellectuals round the world to help stop the wave of repression in the country in a document widely circulated throughout the world in the past month.

It asks them to contact Iranian officials to protest against the executions and holding of political prisoners, to send fact-finding missions to investigate the state of political prisoners in Iran, especially the use of torture, and to publicise the atrocious situation inside Iran to their compatriots.

The association says: Two and a half years have passed since the heroic uprising of the Iranian people put an end to the tyrannical rule of the Shah's puppet regime in February 1979. This victory was achieved at the cost of tens of thousands of lives [sic] and hundreds of thousands of injuries. All these sacrifices were made to put an end to the reign of a regime which severely suppressed all democratic rights of the people, practiced systematic torture, filled the prisons with political prisoners and finally shot and killed unarmed demonstrators in the streets in order to preserve and further the interests of the imperialist powers in our country. The ominous memories of executions and torture of the revolutionaries are still alive in the minds of our people and all progressive people of the world. After all the sacrifices the Iranian people made to overthrow the Shah's regime, they had hoped that those horrible crimes would never again be repeated against them. However, this dream did not come true. Only during a short period after the uprising did the people enjoy a fair amount of freedom and democracy.

Those who came to power after the uprising did not take any notice of the aspirations of our people. Instead, step by step they strengthened their hold on the organs of power and moved to eliminate and brutally suppress all manifestations of popular power. Freedom of the press, one of the most highly cherished fruits of the people's struggle, was gradually suppressed and is now completely non-existent. The democratic rights of the oppressed nationalities and religious minorities were completely ignored. The Kurdish people, for example, are denied any degree of self-determination and are presently subjected to severe economic s ge. Thousands of Kurds, young and old, have been massacred by the regime's "revolutionary guards" and the Imperial Army of the Shah which has supposedly become Islamized by the new rulers. Nevertheless, the heroic struggle of the Kurds has continued and has achieved many victories.

The revolutionary organizations which actively took part in the struggle to overthrow the Shah's regime and offered many martyrs to the cause of liberation have been denied the right of political activity and at this moment thousands of their members and sympathizers are in prison. Political activists are subjected to barbaric tortures in prison, and are targets of regime's bands of terror outside.

Iran's universities, which were major centers of resistance against the Shah's regime had resumed academic activity immediately after the February 1979 uprising, hoping to increase the anti-imperialist and democratic awareness of the people. The new rulers, under the cover of "cultural revolution", organized an attack by club and knifewielding thugs against the universities, killing tens of students, and injuring many more. Numerous students and professors were arrested, some of whom later faced the regime's firing squads. A month later, all institutions of higher education were taken over and shut down for an indefinite period. Many progressive professors have been purged or subjected to severe pressure to resign or toe the line. Bookshops not "in-line" have been subjected to medieval attacks. The ultra-reactionary laws of "Islamic retribution" have been increasingly practiced throughout the country, with punishments such as stoning, cutting off fingers, etc. meted out.

All this savagery is committed by a regime totally unable to meet the economic needs of the masses. Industrial and agricultural production is at a nadir, inflation is rampant, economic dependence on international monopolies is gaining renewed strength as evidenced by "secret" oil contracts and multi-million dollar deals with the likes of the Bankrupt British Talbot Company.

In the past few weeks the wave of terror and repression has reached a new and unprecedented peak. The Islamic Republic Party, the sole fully "legal" party, has monopolized all power in its hands. The remaining non-party newspapers were shut down. The slightest hint of opposition to I.R.P. or the meekest expression of dissatisfaction is no longer tolerated even from within the ruling clique, and dissatisfied elements have been purged. Street demonstrations against the new wave of repression have been bloodily suppressed. Hundreds were shot and killed in the streets of Tehran alone. Many political prisoners were murdered by firing squads without trial. Saeed Soltanpour, a revolutionary poet with a glorious record of struggle against the Shah's tyranny both inside and outside of prison, was executed. Mohsen Fazel, another leading revolutionary and a political prisoner of the Shah's regime, was also put in front of the "charge" of taking part in the recent street demonstrations. Mohammad Reza Sa'adati, another well known political prisoner of both regimes, was "sentenced" to ten years in prison before his trial a few months ago. Shockingly, the blood-thirsty regime murdered him by a firing squad a few weeks ago with the "charge" of "conspiracy against the regime" in prison. In recent weeks hundreds of young innocent people have been executed within hours of arrest without any trial.

As Iranian academics, members of the Democratic Association of Universitarians, we feel obliged to expose the abhorrent situation in our country. We appeal to all democratic people of the world to support the current struggle of the people of Iran.

CSO: 4600/194

# CULTURAL ATTRIBUTES OF REVOLUTION DEPLORED

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 36 4 Sep 81 pp 9-11

[Text] Since the start of the revolution in Iran, the revolutionary leaders have insisted on obliterating everything Iranian and replacing it with what they consider to be Islamic. They have removed the lion and sun emblem from the Iranian flag, have burned the flag itself during nationalist demonstrations staged by the National Front, have changed the name of the Red Lion and Sun Society to the Red Crescent, are planning to change the name of the Pars News Agency to God knows what; and in their latest move, the revolutionary leaders have dismantled the Ministry of Arts and Culture and are handing the arts and culture of the country to the Ministry of Islamic Guidance.

The "doctrinaire" leaders wishing to rewrite Iranian history have destroyed historical monuments and schoolchildren no longer learn the history of the Achaemenian and Sassanian empires. Rather their text books begin with the Arab conquest of 642 AD when glorious Islam came to the Iranian plateau.

Sheikh Khalkhali, that known authority on killing cats and men, has now become an authority on Iranian culture and history. He is bent on destroying all monuments and has declared the lion and sun emblem on the Iranian flag as Zionist. No one has informed him that the lion and sun emblem was used by the Parthians on their coins some 200 years before Christ.

The religious fanaticism associated with the Iranian revolution is nothing new. Iranians are by nature poetic and by character deeply religious, and religious fanaticism was prevalent long before Islam. That is why amid signs of obliteration and destruction one is at times heartened by definite signs of an Iranian culture deeply embedded in the make-up of every Iranian.

Who is an Iranian? One who reads Saadi, or quotes long passages from Ferdowsi? Not really. An Iranian cherishes his traditions, he celebrates Now Rouz. Last Now Rouz Khomeyni asked the people to remember their brothers at the war front and to tone down their Now Rouz celebrations. The people ignored his request and celebrated Now Rouz in a better and bigger fashion than before.

More than anything else the revolution in Iran has afforded the layman the opportunity to show his flair for poetry and rhyme. The walls of every village and town are covered with a wide range of slogans. Any name can be rhymed with any line to suit any circumstance. Some slogans are very witty.

Now a single band of blue writing declaring the victory of Islam over American imperialism and inviting the oppressed to rise against their domination circles the entire walls of the U.S. embassy, and one wall has been painted with scenes of the revolution. The calligraphy of this inscription, in the true Persian style of writing, is very beautiful and artistic.

The jokes made at the expense of the revolutionary leaders are both clever and funny and show a very subtle sense of humour. A poster describing various types of regimes for the benefit of the layman reads:

Communism--If you have two cows, the state will take both away and give a little milk.

Socialism--If you have two cows, the state will take one away and let you keep the other.

Fascism--If you have two cows, the state will take both and kill them.

Islamic Republic--If you have two cows, you will give one voluntarily to the state and the other one will produce so much milk that you will be able to feed your neighbours.

Students from university of Teheran changed the last caption to: Islamic Republic--If you have two cows you make one the head of the National Radio and Television (meaning Sadegh Qotbzadeh) and the other Minister for Foreign Affairs (meaning Ibrahim Yazdi).

Then there was the cable from Taleqani ostensibly sent from paradise to Khomeyni saying: "Mohammad Reza Pahlavi arrived. No sign of martyrs. Am worried." Most of the jokes were made up by university students, bastions of counter revolutionary activities. Perhaps it's no wonder the universities were closed down.

The first 6 months of the revolution witnessed the blossoming of a liberated society capable of developing an independent and advanced culture. Newspapers were a stirring testimony to this blossoming.

Ayandegan, a Tehran daily, published accurate news, original and bold interviews, editorials and articles in good, intelligent Persian, and the layout was extremely well designed. Iran had nothing of that standard ever before. The Ayandegan offices were raided, burned and finally closed down on charges of using Israeli-made machines. The same machines are now used to produce a trashy piece of literature called Sobh-i. Azadegan.

Ahangar, a cartoon magazine with a political slant, was also closed down because it made fun of the revolutionary leaders. Its cartoons were well drawn and its captions highly imaginative.

Even the theatre enjoyed a revival. Beizai wrote a play called "Death of Yazdegerd" in which he openly compared the Arab conquest of 642 A.D. to the Islamic revolution of 1979. The play was a fantastic success. "The House of Bernarda Alba", a play produced and directed by a woman with an all-woman cast, was allowed to play for only three nights, however. No explanation was given for its closure.



The Mullahs have declared all these activities un-Islamic, however, belonging to the "corrupt era of the detested Pahlavi regime." A Muslim society, they declared, enjoys no such corruptions. The Islamic societies in turn put on exhibitions with terrifying posters of a glowering Khomeini walking through the severed veins of the oppressed, and gruesome pictures of the so-called martyred revolutionary guards.

But even the Islamic exhibitions have an Iranian flavour. Iranians truly love and create martyrs. Islam has a very rigid culture, not so expressive, not so fluid. The culture born out of the revolution in Iran is very Iranian. Even the brand of Islam preached by Khomeyni and company is Iranian. It is otherwise known as Safavid Shi'ism, introduced to Iran in the 16th century by Shah Ismael, the first Safavid King.

CSO: 4600/195

## KHOMEYNI REGIME HELD INVULNERABLE TO ASSASSINATIONS

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English Vol 5, No 36, 7 Sep 81 pp 3-4

[Text]

The bomb which killed Iran's President Mohammed Ali Rajai and Premier Mohammed Javad Bahonar last week has triggered off a welter of predictions that the end of the mullocracy is in sight. A lot of this has been wishful thinking and it is hard, however, to see why Ayatollah Khomeini's way should be ending.

As the huge throng at the funeral of the two leaders demonstrated, the Ayatollah and the ruling Islamic Republican Party can count on considerable popular support and replacing both Mr Rajai and Mr Bahonar is not presenting any serious difficulties. There seems little reason therefore to pay much heed to boastful forecasts by exiles of the imminent collapse of the regime in Iran or to look upon the exiles as a credible alternative at this stage.

That said, there is little doubt that Iran will continue to sink deeper into political, social and economic turmoil. Ayatollah Khomeini's admonition last week to the revolutionary courts to respect the law is unlikely to slow down the tempo of executions of the government's enemies and these killings will in turn act as a spur to the Ayatollah's foes to carry on their campaign of bombings and assassinations. But for the time being, a bloody stalemate seems the most likely outcome. This situation could well continue for as long as Ayatollah Khomeini is alive.

There are three reasons for this prognosis. The first is that Ayatollah Khomeini provides the political *mullahs* and the IRP with the cohesive force of his own person and political will; his disappearance would be the signal for a struggle for power inside the IRP; for all of its outward appearance of unity, the IRP is riven by numerous factions.

Secondly, opposition to Ayatollah Khomeini is fragmented and there seems little or no likelihood that his enemies will come together; they range from followers of the late Shah on the far right to the *Moudjahidin e Khalq* and groups still further to the left; as former President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr shows in an interview with this newsletter (see following article).

much of the energies of the exiled enemies of the Ayatollah are expended in quarreling with each other.

The third reason is that there will be no shortage of replacements for assassinated leaders and no indication at present that the *mullahs'* misrule will provoke either a popular uprising or a coup by the armed forces; the Iranian revolution has been characterised by a progressive deterioration in the quality of its leadership together with a steady worsening of economic conditions and a rise in political violence and repression, but it is a revolution of the poor and the capacity of the dispossessed to accept suffering should not be undervalued.

Although the war with Iraq is essentially a *Stitskrieg*, it does keep a large portion of Iran's armed forces away at the front and out of politics. Besides, there have been frequent purges and more are probable as the *mullahs* strive to be rid of opposition from any quarter. So the armed forces, despite Mr Bani-Sadr's efforts to cultivate their loyalty, would very probably think twice about taking on the Revolutionary Guards and other armed supporters of the mullocracy.

There remain, of course, the non-Farsi minority communities which together constitute roughly half of Iran's population. There is fighting in Kurdistan and considerable unrest at the other end of the country among the Baluchis. But the Azerbaijanis remain an unknown quantity even though their religious leader, Ayatollah Kazem Shariat Madari is known to oppose Ayatollah Khomeini. And despite Iraq's efforts to stir up trouble in Khuzestan, Iran's Arabs appear to be quiescent.

And while Ayatollah Komeini and the IRP have blamed "agents of imperialism" for the deaths of the President and Prime Minister, Iran is benefiting from a relatively low level of foreign interference in its affairs. This is because the US, although it is the "Great Satan" to millions of Iranians, has no interest in pushing Iran into additional turmoil which would probably most benefit the Soviet Union and Moscow has no desire to see chaos on its southern border which could so easily spill over into the Muslim communities in Soviet Asia. An additional incentive to the Russians to tread warily is the alliance between the IRP and the *Tudeh* (Communist) Party.

All of the above leads this newsletter to believe that reports of the imminent death of Iran's Islamic Revolution are greatly exaggerated.

## KHOMEYNI 'ROYAL' FAMILY'S CONNECTIONS TRACED

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 36,4 Sep 81 p 11-12

[Letter from M Changizi]

[Text] Last week your correspondent wrote about Mrs Ahmad Khomeyni, daughter-in-law of Ayatollah Khomeyni, niece of Ayatollah Moussa Sadr, sister of top regime official Sadegh Tabatabai and granddaughter of Khomeyni at the same time. She perhaps instances for our western friends the fact that little has changed in Iran in some respects since the revolution and that the Khomeyni clan plays the same game as the Pahlavis did.

Ayatollah Khomeyni's mother married four times and she was the mother of the present Majlis Speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani and his brother, who is now head of the national television and radio network, and of a sister Mrs Lahouti, whose husband has a top post with the revolutionary courts. Mrs Khomeyni's son by her first husband has been appointed head of the Tehran public bus company, and her son by the second, Pasandideh, is managing director of Iran's army industries.

Khomeyni's wife's sister, Mrs Kianouri, is wife of the son of Shaikh Fazlollah Nouri, and her eldest son is Nouredin Kianouri, who is head of the Tudeh (pro-Moscow Communist) party which enjoys the protection of the mullahs' regime and Khomeyni himself. And another son has been made governor of Yazd.

Meanwhile Khomeyni's sister is married to Ayatollah Montazeri, Khomeyni's heir-apparent, whose son, a top official of the regime and Majlis member, died in last month's massive bomb explosion at the IRP headquarters. Their daughter is the wife of Ayatollah Qoddusi, the revolutionary prosecutor-general. Meanwhile 's daughter was married to the missing Ayatollah Moussa Sadr, whose daughter is married to another prominent regime official in Sadegh Tabatabai, who is generally credited with being the brain behind commercial profiting by the family from the sale of carpets and other valuables from the former royal palaces. Tabatabai's sister is married to Ahmad Khomeyni, Khomeyni's eldest son.

Another daughter of Ayatollah Khomeyni is married to Ayatollah Eshraghi, another top official of the regime; two of their daughters' husbands became ministers after the revolution. One is former oil minister Moinfar, the other former PTT minister Ghandi, who also died in the IRP headquarters bomb blast. The list could continue, for the extended family has its tentacles in all areas of administration and life in Iran.

CSO: 4600/196



## EXCESS IMPORTS SEEN OVERBURDENING ECONOMY

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English Vol 5 No 36, 7 Sep 81 pp 4-5

[Text]

Quite apart from the political turmoil in Iran which renders unpredictable the future course of events in the country, economic problems are apparently becoming unmanageable. The only safe statement that can be made at this point is that for the next few months Iran's economy looks set for further deterioration. Imports continue to rise – by 30 per cent in the first six months of this year – against a background of falling production, high unemployment, a haemorrhage of foreign currency and constantly decreasing oil revenue. With an additional \$400 million a month going on arms purchases and to pay for the war with Iraq and no prospects for a quick end to the fighting, the country's rulers have no bed of roses to look forward to.

According to figures recently released by the Iranian Customs, Iran imported \$6.65 billion worth of goods in the first six months of 1981, with the last month going up to June 21 alone accounting for \$1.7 billion. This represents a 30 per cent increase in Rial terms over the similar figure in the first half of 1980.

Although trade with major Western partners has fallen dramatically in the last two years (*An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, April 13) Iran's exchanges with countries of the Eastern bloc have soared. This is reflected by the 84 per cent rise in the value of imports through the country's four northern ports on the Caspian Sea in the first six months of this year, and is confirmed by recent official statements on Iran's economic policies.

The Undersecretary for Economic Affairs at the Iranian Foreign Ministry, Ahmed Azizi, said in a policy statement last month that his country favoured economic ties with the Eastern bloc states because they were "rational and reasonable." Although the policy statement expressly condemned trade with both of the superpowers, Mr Azizi indicated it would be easier in the future to conclude deals with the Soviet bloc.

In the first half of this year, goods entering through the Soviet Union amounted to more than 20 per cent of total imports and were valued at \$1.4 billion. Moreover, limited traffic has resumed at the Bandar Khomeini port

on the Gulf as fears of air attacks by Iraq have receded.

Indications of the increasing precariousness of Iran's export prospects came from reports last week that Japan, Iran's leading customer, was considering reducing or even stopping oil imports. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) told reporters in Tokyo that upheavals in Iran, the high price of its oil and the uncertainty still hanging over the \$3.6 billion Bandar Khomeini complex being built by Mitsui (see box) have cast doubt on continued Japanese imports of Iranian oil.

Japanese refinery companies and trading houses suspended liftings of 230,000 b/d of Iranian crude last month pending negotiations for a cut in the official price of \$37 per barrel. The Japanese are seeking a price of \$32-34 per barrel in line with Saudi Arabian Light, which is of the same quality as Iran's crude.

Officials at MITI said some importers may reduce their imports and others may refuse to renew their contracts altogether with the National Iranian Oil Company. These contracts are up for renewal in the next 90 days.

But, Iran's hard stance at the last OPEC meeting will not help it boost its exports if it sticks to its stated policy. The country's new Oil Minister Mohammed Gharazi said that Iran would persist in keeping to its prices and was not in any hurry to reduce them. Looked at in the context of the estimated revenue called for by the budget, Mr Gharazi's statement does not make much economic sense, as revenues forecast for this year were based on sales of at least 1.4 million b/d, a target which has so far not been achieved. Oil export figures are not given by the Iranian authorities and estimates by experts vary from 400,000 b/d to 800,000 b/d at present. Even assuming that the higher figure is correct, with estimated revenues of \$30 million a day, Iran must be eroding its reserves given its spiralling level of imports and war expenditure.

With an official price of \$37 per barrel of oil, and the world glut expected to persist for at least a few months, Mr Gharazi may well have to retract his words and to offer attractive prices to customers if Iran is to avoid total financial chaos. And although denominated in an "imperialist" currency, additional oil revenues in currently high-yielding dollars would be a welcome boon to Iran's diminishing reserves.

JAPAN TO WITHDRAW FROM PETROCHEMICAL COMPLEX

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English Vol 5 No 36, 7 Sep 81 p 4

[Text]

The Japanese government announced last week that it had paved the way for the withdrawal of the Mitsui industrial group from the \$3.6 billion petrochemical complex it is building at Bandar Khomeini in a fifty-fifty joint venture with Iran. Officials at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) said the ministry would be prepared to pay export insurance to the group to cover some of its losses if it decided to pull out of the venture.

Work at the petrochemical complex is 85 per cent complete, but has never resumed properly since the first stoppage in late 1978 because of the revolution which toppled the Shah. Since that time, the cost of the project has risen by about \$1 billion, largely due to Iraqi air raids last September, which inflicted damage estimated at \$800 million.

It is probable that Mitsui will pull out of the project as it has sent repeated delegations to Tehran to negotiate new financing terms with the authorities there but has received little response. The group has put forward a proposal that the Iranian side should fund the remaining work and repairs to be done at the complex since the Japanese cannot provide any more money. But the authorities in Iran have been stalling a decision for six months and it appears increasingly unlikely that they will be able to accept Mitsui's proposal in the light of the poor health of the Iranian treasury.

CSO: 4600/191

## RICE PURCHASING PLAN DISCUSSED BY DEPUTY MINISTER

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 18 Aug 81 p 12

[Text] Seyyed Hasan Tabataba'i, deputy minister of agriculture and rural development for cultivation explained a rice-purchasing plan in a press interview]

### Price Stabilization

He said: Rice has a special importance, since according to statistics given, this item makes up 20 percent of a consumer's food budget. The Economic Mobilization Staff has therefore decided to stabilize its price and prevent a price increase, while paying due attention to production costs and a fair profit being given to the producers. For this very reason the Ministry of Agriculture was asked to calculate production expenses and prepare a plan for rice production and distribution.

### Rice Production and Distribution Plan

He continued: In order to prepare a plan, we took steps in the two provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran to form Komitehs of committed persons, Ministry of Commerce experts, and officials from the governor generals' offices to study the production costs. After these studies, a plan was prepared, given to the Economic Mobilization Staff and approved. Then it was approved by the Supreme Council on the Economy, and its budget was set.

### Level of Rice Production

Seyyed Hasan Tabataba'i added: Since the level of production does not meet our needs, it was decided to eliminate the middlemen. Thus according to this plan the government will purchase surplus production and put it at the consumers' disposal. Our production is about 900,000 tons, 300,000 tons of which are consumed in Gilan and Mazandaran. We have forecast that the government will buy about 600,000 tons of surplus production.

### Control of Import and Export from Gilan and Mazandaran Provinces

He said: In conjunction with this plan the government therefore decided to completely control all imports and exports from the provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran, and to prevent the export of rice by the private sector. On this



basis, persons living in Gilan and Mazandaran provinces can buy rice for their own consumption. However, the State Economic Mobilization Staff is responsible for the distribution of rice in all of the country's provinces except these two.

#### Prices of Various Kinds of Rice

Concerning the purchase price of rice, the deputy minister of agriculture said: The two Ministry of Agriculture Komitehs in Gilan and Mazandaran set a guaranteed price for rice last year on the basis of production costs. The prices were set at 125 rials per kilo for grade-one Gilan rice, and at 115 rials for grade-one Mazandaran rice. Later this was revised, and prices were set at 145 rials for grade-one Gilan rice, and at 135 rials for grade-one Mazandaran. It was then decided that the stabilized price be one tuman higher than the guaranteed price. Thus the price of grade-one Gilan rice was set at 155 rials, and that of Mazandaran at 145 rials. Thus at least 25 percent has been added to the prices. Concerning the prices of other kinds of rice, he said: On the basis of local experts' opinions, the rice in each province has been divided into 50 categories according to the way it cooks. It has also been divided into three grades on the basis of the percentage of broken grains and half-grains. We consider that grade-one can have up to 10 percent broken grains and half-grains, grade-two up to 15 percent, and grade-three up to 20 percent.

We contemplate a price of 155 rials for grade-one rice. It has been decided that the Komitehs in provincial centers and city-regions can price the other grades.

#### Potential Rice Cultivation

Seyyed Hasan Tabataba'i, concerning potential rice cultivation, stated: Our potential for rice cultivation is limited to the two provinces of Gilan and Mazandaran. Of course in Fars Province the possibility exists of cultivating rice on about 30,000 hectares. Furthermore, the possibility of rice cultivation exists in Ilam and Khuzestan. But in any case, our land under cultivation is limited. Gilan and Mazandaran provinces comprise about 400,000 hectares. For this reason we decided, with respect to plan implementation, to work on the basis of figures for rice grown in areas of higher productivity.

#### Purchasing Komitehs

Concerning rice distribution, he said: This plan comprises two parts, purchase and distribution. In the plan it is contemplated that the Ministry of Agriculture will do the buying, and that the Ministry of Commerce will be responsible for distribution. That is to say, this is a joint plan between the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture which will be implemented with the cooperation of the Economic Mobilization Staff. According to the plan, a purchasing Komiteh will be organized in the province's center, under the supervision of the governor-general, the director-generals of the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture, a representative from the Economic Mobilization Staff, a representative from the Reconstruction Crusade, the revolution prosecutor and trustworthy locals. The

Komiteh which will actually buy is composed of three persons, representatives from the Rural Cooperative Organization, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Reconstruction Crusade. This Komiteh will grade the rice, price and purchase it, transport it to warehouses, sack it and then deliver it to the storehouses of the Organization for Commercial Services Expansion.

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CSO: 4640/91

## BRIEFS

AL-QADISIYAH PROJECTS--As part of the investment program plan for the current year, the local government administration in the governorate of al-Qadisiyah has undertaken the establishment of a number of health, service, and rural roads projects at a cost of 8 million dinars. Mr Qabbat Tahir Sadiq, assistant governor of al-Qadisiyah for local government, said that the projects include a building for the 'Afak police department at a cost of 120,000 dinars, a building for the secret police department of the southern region at a cost of 120,000 dinars, and a building for the al-Najdah police department at a cost of 100,000 dinars. In the health field, Mr Sadiq stated that the expansion of an emergency hospital has been completed at a cost of 450,000 dinars in al-Diwaniyah. Also completed are the construction of a central dental clinic in al-Diwaniyah at a cost of 100,000 dinars and a village medical aid center on the al-Diwaniyah-Samawah Road at a cost of 30,000 dinars. In the rural roads area, a rural roads network linking the agricultural areas with the district centers and the farmers districts and agricultural cooperatives has been paved at a cost of 7 million dinars. The total length of road in this network is approximately 140 kilometers. /Text/ /Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 15 Aug 81 p 6/

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CSO: 4304/139

## RESUMPTION OF RETALIATORY POLICY URGED

TA111131 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 11 Sep 81 p 5 weekend supplement

[Moshe Dayan commentary: "Between September and April: The Return Retaliation, After Preemptive Strikes"]

[Text] One of the slogans the prime minister was most fond of--particularly during the election period when he also served as the defense minister--was: "No more retaliation: We will hit the PLO with preemptive strikes." Indeed, such was the policy adopted by the Begin Government for a long time.

The policy of preemptive strikes ended in a devastating failure. Our massive bombings, including the destruction of the bridges on the Litani River, did not prevent the terrorists from continuing their strikes on our settlements with Katyusha rockets and long-range cannons. As for the political aspect, our defeat was even more devastating. We agreed to the cease-fire of our own free will knowing for a fact that not only would the PLO not get farther from the Israeli border but, on the contrary, it would bring personnel and arms reinforcements to Southern Lebanon, it would entrench and strengthen and, when the time came, its forces would be ready to launch operations against us from a better position than the one it had before we dealt our "preemptive strikes" at them.

So far the cease-fire has been holding. Various efforts are being made in Lebanon to rebuild it as an independent and perhaps eventually as a sovereign state. Arab and even foreign governments are involved in these efforts. Many of the voices are not pleasant to us: the declaration of the Christians about severing their ties with Israel, the permanent status assured to Syria in Lebanon (mainly in the al-Biqa' Valley) and so on. Nevertheless, the tone of the declarations currently made by our spokesmen--both in the government and in the opposition--is much lower. We have learned our lesson. Our (U.S. made) aircraft cannot do just anything militarily without us having to pay a very dear political price for it.

We do not know what will be the status of the PLO in the new edition of Lebanon. It is clear that it will not be expelled from this country and that its military strength, both concerning arms, equipment and personnel, will even increase.

The main question which should bother us is: How are we going to deal with it if and when it violates the cease-fire and resumes firing on our settlements?

It seems to me that we will have to go back to the policy of retaliation. First of all, political circumstances will not enable us to adopt preemptive measures. One may quote the best maxims of our late sages--who said that if anybody sets out to kill you, you should kill him first--or read some "selected chapters" from interviews with Qaddumi, or 'Arafat's speeches and the Palestinian charter. All this proves that the PLO and its weapons have only one goal: to annihilate Israel. The combined weight of all these elements is not enough to alter the chief desire of the United States and the European countries to prevent a flare-up and to seek ways to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict through peaceful means.

The logic of retaliatory actions lies in the hope that the opposite party should realize that it is not worth its while to hit Israel. In this respect, "the opposite party" does not refer to the group of terrorists taking part in the operation but to the civilian inhabitants and their government. The period of calm will continue and the inhabitants of Southern Lebanon will presumably return to their villages. Also, if the efforts to rehabilitate the Lebanese Government bear any fruit there is hope that the new government in Lebanon (even if under Syrian influence) will realize the destruction it brings upon its country, its citizens and its status as an independent state because of the PLO's activities against Israel. Retaliatory actions (they should not be carried out with kid gloves) give the enemy leeway to pull back. Their significance is that if Israeli citizens are not allowed to live in peace, life in Lebanon will also become hell. However, if the PLO does not open fire on our side of the border then we will not operate against them either, even though we know that they are fortifying and preparing themselves to attack us one day. When that "day" comes, we will settle the bill. However, we do not want to bring that day closer by conducting a policy of "preemptive strikes."

CSO: 4323/67



## DAYAN COMMENTS ON SINAI PULLBACK

TA111140 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 11 Sep 81 p 5 weekend supplement

[Moshe Dayan commentary: "Between September and April: The Chosen People"]

[Text] Following the visit in Alexandria of Menahem Begin and his ministers, all the disputes and the rancors which had built up since the summit meeting in Ofira were removed. The past was forgotten and the discussions revolved around the future.

The question of the Israeli pullback in April 1982 obviously figures prominently in the talks. The defense minister and his aides conducted in-depth discussions on the issue with their Egyptian counterparts and when our delegation returned to Israel it reported that full understanding had been reached.

However, things at home are not that tidy any more. Therefore, the government has entrusted the agriculture minister with the task of winding up the question of compensation to the settlers in the Rafah approaches. Who is better suited than Ehrlich to finally conclude this complex and painful issue? A minister with two deputies. All his life he has been attracted by agriculture. He is determined, he speaks clearly and has unambiguous definitions.

On the eve of the evacuation the government decided--neither unanimously, nor very willingly--that all the mobile equipment should be pulled out from the area and that the agricultural infrastructure should be dismantled: waterpipes, packing houses, hothouses and so on. First of all, this precious equipment can be used by agricultural settlements in Israel and, secondly, one should not encourage tens of thousands of Egyptian inhabitants to establish a settlement founded on this infrastructure on Israel's border.

Constructors on behalf of the settlement authorities arrived in one of the settlements in the Rafah approaches this week to dismantle a hothouse. They returned empty-handed after a few hours. They were confronted by a united front of those settlers opposed to the evacuation who did not allow them to do their job.

There is no need to have a sixth sense to foresee what will happen. The settlers will evacuate the region. Ehrlich will pay and the equipment--either all or part of it--will remain in the area to be used by the Egyptians. The time available for its removal will be too short. We will be busy with internal quarrels until the last minute. This is how we look and this is how we act. We will both fight, evacuate the area and leave the equipment behind: "A bathtub with tiles and all comforts."

CSO: 4323/67

EYTAN ON NEED TO SET ISRAEL'S BORDERS

TA141355 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14 Sep 81 p 2

[Report by Sha'ya Segal]

[Excerpt] "The time has come for the argument here over Eretz Yisra'el to reach its end. To this very date our borders are not yet recognized, even the 1967 borders have not yet been recognized. At some point, one way or the other, the discussion over Eretz Yisra'el should end and a decision should be made on what are its borders, who lives in Eretz Yisra'el, and where."

Refa'el Eytan, who made these statements, stated that setting clear cut borders for Eretz Yisra'el is one of the four immediate national goals. As another objective he noted limiting our dependence on foreign sources. "First we must exhaust ourselves, and later go and ask for help. This also has political ramifications, and it means that we should work hard and say: Thank you, no, we do not need help."

The third goal set by the chief of staff is removing the threat that the people of Israel be exterminated in Eretz Yisra'el. "We should make sure that we cannot be overcome here. This has to do with the army's level and its technical capability. Possibly, if they recognize that the destruction of the people of Israel in Eretz Yisra'el is impossible, other countries will start talking to us."

The fourth goal the chief of staff outlined is for Israel to become a magnet to attract those who have no affiliation with Israel. "We should become an attraction to the Jews of the Disapora, to let them have something to care for."

CSO: 4323/67

VILLAGE ASSOCIATION DENOUNCED

Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic 14 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by Salah al-Dayri: "Public Organizations in Bayt Sahur Denounce the Attempt To Form Bethlehem for Villages Association]

[Text] Representatives of public organizations in Bayt Sahur held a public meeting yesterday at the municipal hall in which they denounced the desperate attempts to establish what is called the Bethlehem Villages Association.

Hanna Khuri al-Atrash, mayor of Bayt Sahur refuted claims made by one of those in charge of the association issue on the Israeli television last Saturday night. Mr Khuri said that the municipalities play their role perfectly. The services rendered by municipalities since 1976 are excellent. No similar services had been rendered at any previous time. At the same time, the municipalities did not abandon the villages in the area; it exerted a great deal of effort with officials in the Arab world to maintain and support them. He stated that the doors of the municipality are open to all citizens, and everyone will attest to that fact.

Al-Atrash mentioned that all villages in Bethlehem area will be electrified and that water will reach every zone which did not have water before. He indicated that the villages association idea did not stem from concern for offering services to citizens, but it stemmed from the critical situation which resulted from our people's rejection of Camp David Accords and the autonomy project. It was hoped that the association idea will be an alternative to what was rejected by our masses.

Those who attended the meeting condemned the attempt and the accusation aired on Israeli television against the mayors in general and the mayors of Bayt Sahur and Bethlehem in particular.

The participants issued a statement in which they repudiated the desperate attempts by some individuals to establish what is known as the Bethlehem Villages Association. The participants considered the attempt as a link in the chain of conspiracy against our cause and a part of the attempts to impose the autonomy and establish an alternative to the PLO. They also denounced the attempts to play the mayors who reject the association off against each other.

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CSO: 4304/112

PARTY PREFERENCE POLL PUBLISHED

TA180932 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 18 Sep 81 p 3

[PORI Public Opinion Poll]

[Text] Had elections been held in the first week of September there would have hardly been any change in the political map in Israel. This emerges from a nationwide public opinion poll conducted by the Pori Institute at the request of Ha'aretz.

An analysis of the findings reveals that the Likud would have increased its strength by 1.5 percent from the 37.1 percent it received in the elections to the 10th Knesset to 38.6 percent. The alignment would have lost less than 1 percent of its strength, from 36.6 to 35.8 percent; the NRP would have lost about 1 percent of its strength, from 4.9 to 4 percent. Moshe Dayan's telem list would have lost approximately half of its voters and would have dropped from 1.6 to 0.9 percent. Tami would also have lost 0.5 percent and would have dropped from 2.3 to 1.8 percent. In contrast, Shulamit Aloni's Ratz would have risen by 0.5 percent, from 1.4 to 1.9 percent; Agudat Yisra'el, Shinuy and the Tehiya movement would have received a number of votes identical to the number they scored in the elections to the 10th Knesset.

The pollster, Pori Institute Director Refa'el Gil notes that the public continues to cast a considerable number of votes for lists which did not meet the minimum quota. In the Knesset elections these lists received 4 percent of the votes and in the latest poll they even scored 5.1 percent of the votes.

It should also be noted that the number of abstainees in the poll reached 20.1 percent, similar to the 21.5 percent who abstained in the last elections.

Following are the findings of the poll compared to the results of the elections to the 10th Knesset (the figures are in percentages):

Party	Current Poll	Elections	Change
Likud	38.6	37.1	&1.5
Alignment	35.8	36.6	-0.8
NRP	4.0	4.9	-9.0
Agudat Yisra'el	3.8	3.7	&0.1
Telem	0.9	1.6	-0.7
Shinuy	1.5	1.5	---
Ratz	1.9	1.4	&0.5
Tehiya	2.4	2.3	&0.1
Tami	1.8	2.3	-0.5
Others	5.1	4.0	&1.1
Minorities	Not Polled	4.6	

The poll was conducted on a representative sample of 1,200 male and female eligible voters over the age of 18, who were confidentially interviewed in the privacy of their homes.

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INJUNCTION AGAINST SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY--The Israeli Supreme Court issued its order forbidding the military administration from taking any action regarding the land it had confiscated near the settlements of Qiryat Arba', Ari'el, and the settlements of Mizpe Guvrin until a final decision is reached in the appeal filed by 30 of the owners of the confiscated land. The latter maintain that the military government confiscated their land because it was considered state land. This is against the Jordanian law. They demanded that the investigation of the matter by the military appeals committee be stopped. [Text] [Jerusalem AL-FAJR in Arabic 13 Jul 81 p 5] 9607

APPEALS AGAINST SEIZURE OF LAND--The Hebron Municipality has taken up an appeal by two members of a prominent local family against a military government order that classifies land they claim as their own as "state land." A municipal lawyer is representing (Taisa) and Shahda Jabari, members of the most influential family in Hebron, who received an order last month informing them that land they claim in the Ar-Ra's area near the town is considered state land. The parcel of land is said to be adjacent to a larger tract known as (Giv'at Ja'Abara) which was to have been allocated to the Jewish suburb of Qiryat Arba'. That allocation was blocked by the high court of justice. Military government officials yesterday informed village Mukhtars in al-Mazra'ah Ash-Sharqiyah near Ramallah, that 800 dunams of land between their village of Kafr Malik were being seized for military purposes. Surveyors are reported to have mapped the land 10 days ago. [Text] [TA180721 Jerusalem POST in English 18 Sep 81 p 2]

FIRM DEVELOPS MISSILE DETECTION SYSTEM--What may be the world's most advanced early-warning system for detecting missiles has been unveiled in Israel. With details on the system, called Spirtact, is reporter Jerry Cheslow: [Begin recording] Spirtact developed by the El-Op [Electro-Optical] Company of Rehovot for the Israel Navy is capable of detecting enemy missiles or ships at long range through the heat they generate. The instrument, which looks like a large barrel mounted on legs, operates instead of the ship's radar making the vessel more difficult for the enemy to detect. Spirtact, unveiled at a news conference this afternoon, is just one of the new optical systems developed by El-Op for the Israeli defense forces. The company also showed a laser-operated fire control system for the Merkava tank, a special infrared map light and a portable communications system that works on laser beams making messages and transmissions virtually impossible for the enemy to decipher. [Text] [TA061901 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 6 Sep 81]

AFFORESTATION CONTRACTS UPHELD--The military government has published a regulation extending the validity of contracts that the Jordanian Government concluded with private landowners for afforestation projects on the West Bank, thereby preventing the return of the land to its original owners for another 10 years, the East Jerusalem DAILY AL-QUDS reported yesterday. In a front-page article, the newspaper reports that Jordan seized several thousand dunams of land for afforestation projects particularly in the Hebron and Tulkarm areas. Under the contracts concluded at the time with the landowners, the land was due to be returned to them with the trees after a period of 15 years. The agriculture department of the military government has now published a regulation which extends the validity of these contracts by

another 10 years, according to the report. Military government spokesmen were unable to comment on the report last night. The legal department of the military government has in the past extended the validity of powers of attorney, which under the Jordanian law applicable in the territories are only valid for 5 years. Local lawyers claim that by extending the validity of powers of attorney, Israeli land-purchasing companies are able to avoid registering land transactions and so disguise their purchases. The military government maintains that such extensions are necessary because of the large number of absentee landowners in the area. Report by David Richardson. [Text] [TA141132 Jerusalem POST in English 14 Sep 81 p 3]

FINANCIAL OVERDRAFT INCREASES--The government's overdraft--the difference between its tax revenue and expenses--was during the past 2 months double the 1980 average and was 50 percent higher from April to August than the same period last year. This was reported yesterday by Bank of Israel Governor Arnon Gafni to the bank's advisory council. This excessive demand, the growth in government expenditures and an accompanying increase in private consumption--which also upsets the balance of payments--have stimulated local consumption, Gafni said. At the same time, he continued, there has been a virtual freeze in exports. Gafni said that the government's recent measures, such as freezing new contracts and cancelling subsidies, are in the right direction. However, it is vital that a comprehensive programme be developed both to fight inflation and to improve the balance of payments. While superficially there has been no change in Israel's trade deficit (the gap between imports and exports) over the first months of the year, Gafni said, when such factors as the fall in the diamond and general stocks and the decline in fuel prices are taken into account, then the deficit has increased significantly. The central bureau of statistics reported yesterday that the country's exports during the first eight months of the year were worth \$3.473 billion, compared to \$3.431 billion during the same period last year. Industrial exports (not including diamonds) increased by 10 percent. According to the Bank of Israel, the quantitative growth in exports is 23 percent over the same period last year. [Text] [TA080854 Jerusalem POST in English 8 Sep 81 p 1]

MORE HOUSING UNITS IN W. BANK--The agriculture ministry is working out a plan to bolster the settlements in Judaea and Samaria in order to substantially increase the number of inhabitants there. Deputy agriculture minister, Mikha'el Deqel, told the DAVAR correspondent that an initial plan worked out by the ministry calls for 30,000 housing units to be built in Judaea and Samaria in 5 years within the framework of bolstering the settlements there. The idea is to construct them through public and private companies. According to the plan, each year between 7,000 and 8,000 units will be built in Judaea and Samaria. The financing should be supplied by the companies that build the housing units as well as those who will purchase them. The government's share in the plan will be in the form of investment in the infrastructure needed for the establishment of the housing units. The investment in housing units, including the investment in the infrastructure in Judea and Samaria, is estimated at 6 million shekels. The overall investment in constructing the 30,000 housing units will amount to 180 billion shekels in 5 years. The deputy agriculture minister reported that after the plan is worked out in detail, it will be brought to the agriculture minister and the ministry executive for discussion, later to be raised for discussion at the cabinet. Deqel also said that three to four new settlements will be established in Judaea and Samaria. Also, there is a plan to establish three agricultural settlements in the Yattir District near 'Arad. Report by Agricultural Affairs correspondent, David Mosheyof. [Text] [TA171313 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 17 Sep 81 p 3]

JORDAN'S W. BANK PAYMENTS ACCEPTABLE--It looks as though in the aftermath of the Israeli Government's decision to stop any direct or indirect aid from PLO funds to the inhabitants of the territories. Jordan has decided to take this new measure in an attempt to ease any possible financial distress of the West Bank inhabitants. It has been reported by military government circles that if so far Israel has not objected to having veteran military government workers receive their salary from Jordan, there is no reason why there should be any objection to having newer employees also get their salary--or half thereof--from Jordan. It should be noted that Jordan fully cooperates with the PLO in the framework of the joint Jordan-PLO committee that meets periodically in Amman and which decides on and implements joint Jordanian-PLO policy in the territories. The mayors of Nabulus and Bethlehem, Bassam Ash-Shak'ah and Ilyas Frayj, announced last night that they do not oppose this new move, but wish to include municipal workers in it as well, seeing that the municipalities are experiencing a constant financial distress, particularly lately. Report by Yehuda Litani. [Excerpt] [TA090931 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 9 Sep 81 p 1]

WEST BANK SALARIES--The East Jerusalem paper AL-QUDS reports that the government of Jordan has decided to pay the salaries of Arab civil servants in the military government in Judea and Samaria who were appointed to their jobs after the 6-day war provided the offices were in existence before 1967. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari points out that if the report is true, it augurs a meaningful change in Jordan's attitude toward Israel's military government. To date Jordan did not recognize those appointments and hence refused to pay the salaries of the employees. Our correspondent notes that AL-QUDS has good information sources in the capital of Jordan. The paper adds that the salaries will be paid retroactively from August 1980. A civil servant in Judea and Samaria will receive half the salary of a Jordanian civil servant. Civil servants in offices established after 1967 will still not receive salaries paid by Jordan. [Text] [TA081632 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500, GMT 8 Sep 81]

GUSH EMUNIM LAUNCHES IMMIGRATION CAMPAIGN--Gush Emunim has recently begun dealing with another field; bringing new immigrants and establishing nuclei for Zionist fulfillment. The reason for this is, according to Gush Emunim leaders, a glut in the settlements. The decision to deal with immigration has not been made official, but our correspondent Avraham Ben-Melekh reports that the Gush Emunim activists have already begun dealing with this issue. [Excerpt] [TA090619 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0505 GMT 9 Sep 81]

SETTLERS OCCUPY EVACUATED HOUSES--The 15 families that occupied houses in Moshav Talme Yosef in the Yamit District last night have announced that they would forcefully object to any attempt to evacuate them. Our correspondent in the South, 'Ofer Taller, reports from Talme Yosef: [begin videotape] There was an uproar today in Talme Yosef that is in the Yamit District as former settlers who had already evacuated their homes and began moving to the new Moshav in the Besor District found out that their homes had been taken up by 15 families of Gush Emunim followers. [Excerpt] [TA101947 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 10 Sep 81]

SINAI HOMES TAKEN BY IDF--From now on, any house that is evacuated in the Yamit District will immediately be taken up by the army. This was announced today by Deputy Prime Minister Simha Ehrlich. A practical decision on how to deal with the people who had already occupied houses in the district will be made immediately on the return of the defense minister to Israel Sunday, 13 September. [Excerpt] [TA102001 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 10 Sep 81]

DRUZE RETURNING IDENTIFICATION CARDS--Within 1 week, 15 percent of those holding Israeli identity cards in the Druze villages on the Golan Heights asked to return them to the Israeli Government. This has been learned by our correspondent, Yo'el Dar. All in all, less than 400 people hold these identity cards. It has been learned that each Druze returning his card is asked by the committee of families of Druze prisoners in the Golan Heights to donate 400 Israeli shekels to the fund for the release of these prisoners, thus obtaining the right to undergo a symbolic ceremony in which the religious and social boycott imposed on all those holding Israeli identity cards is lifted. [Text] [TA110802 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 11 Sep 81]

GOVERNMENT AGREES ON EVACUATION TERMS--Members of the Ne'ot Sinai Moshav in the Yamit District have reached a settlement with the director-general of the agriculture ministry which will allow the Moshav to be evacuated even if the government and the settlers have not agreed on the amount of the compensation. According to this arrangement, the agriculture ministry and the residents will submit their own estimates of the value of the equipment at the site. After the points in dispute have been noted, the Moshav residents will permit the equipment to be dismantled and will evacuate the site on the day determined by the government. They will also be able to receive compensation according to an estimate to be made by the agriculture ministry, without losing their right to request more money after the evacuation itself. At the same time, the movement to stop the withdrawal in Sinai has stated that its members will arrive in every settlement where buildings are evacuated, and will oppose any attempt to evacuate them from the buildings they have already seized. [Text] [TA180730 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0600 GMT 18 Sep 81]

CONSUMER PRICE INDEX UP 3.9 PERCENT--Last month the consumer price index went up by 3.9 percent. Since the beginning of the year the index rose by 53.6 percent. Last month the main item that went up was apartment maintenance, which went up by 6.8 percent; fruits and vegetables rose by 4.8 percent and the health component by 4 percent. Our correspondent Gid'on Zelinger says that there was hardly any government activity in regard to prices last month, and therefore it appears that as a result of the government's decisions in the last two weeks, the next few indexes will be higher. A hint at this trend could be discerned in the wholesale price index, which rose by a rate higher than the consumer price index: 4.6 percent. The cost of residential building index rose last month by 3.5, reaching 3,600 points. Since the beginning of the year, that index rose by 82.2 percent. A spokesman for the finance ministry has said that the ministry will continue to do everything possible to limit the rise in the index under the given circumstances. [Text] [TA151513 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 15 Sep 81]

ZIONIST OFFICIAL ON W. BANK SETTLEMENT--The head of the world Zionist Organization Settlement Department, Matityahu Drobles, disclosed yesterday that today there are about 24,000 Jews in Judaea and Samaria settlements. He said that in the past 6 months some 1,870 housing units have been built in Judaea and Samaria, adding that this figure also includes the urban settlements. Through this move, the Jewish population in Judaea and Samaria has increased by 7,000 people. Mr Drobles was speaking in the Zionist organization general council deliberations. He added that after the masterplan for setting up 20 settlements in Judaea and Samaria has been completed, it will in the near future be possible to establish an infrastructure for an additional 2,000 to 4,000 housing units, provided this is given the necessary



financial resources. Referring to employment in the Judaea and Samaria settlements, Drobles said that in 12 older settlements, between 60 and 80 percent of the residents are employed in the settlements themselves, whereas in the newer settlements those employed in the settlement is only 20 to 40 percent. In reply to a question, Mr Drobles said that last year 23 settlements were established in Judaea, Samaria and the Jordan Rift Valley. In the last 4 months eight more have either been established or are under construction. In total, there are 62 settlements in Judaea and Samaria, and 20 in the Jordan Rift Valley. Four settlements have been set up in the Jericho vicinity and a fifth, Zori, is currently under construction. According to this plan, two more settlements will be established in that area. Report by Gid'on Alon.  
[Text] [TA041130 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 4 Sep 81 p 12]

COAL SUPPLY--The National Company for Coal Supply has signed a memorandum according to which a South African company, General Mining, will supply coal to Israel from 1983 onward. The agreement calls for the supply of 900 tons per year. Thus, South Africa will become Israel's largest coal supplier. [TA150549 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 14 Sep 81]

NEW AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEE FOUNDED--A committee opposing the agriculture associations operating under the aegis of the military government has been organized in Judaea and Samaria. It is called the committee for the safety of the Palestinian villages and it is connected to the national guidance committee circles. Today, it distributed leaflets in Judaea and Samaria, urging the farmers to support the PLO. Our correspondent notes that in one of its last meetings, the joint Jordanian-PLO committee in Amman decided to fight to the bitter end these agriculture associations.  
[Text] [TA031023 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 3 Sep 81]

CSO: 4323



# WEAPONS DIVERSIFICATION STRATEGY DISCUSSED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 530, 17 Aug 81 p 27

/Article: "Concerning the Kuwaiti Decision: Diversification of Weapons Sources Is an Established Strategy"/

/Text/ British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will arrive in Kuwait at the end of September in her second Gulf tour in less than 6 months. Kuwaiti press circles say that Mrs Thatcher will offer to sell British weapons to Kuwait as she did previously during her first Gulf tour last April.

Discussion of the British offer and the expected Kuwaiti reply came in commentary about Kuwaiti Defense Minister Salim Sabah al-Salim's recent statement announcing Kuwait's rejection of the American offer to sell 60 Hawk air-to-ground rockets for \$150 million.

Kuwaiti circles commenting on the defense minister's statements indicated that the anticipated Kuwaiti response to Britain's offer must necessarily proceed from the Kuwaiti armament strategy newly defined by Salim Sabah al-Salim.

The defense minister and the foreign minister and acting information minister revealed that Kuwait had rejected the American offer because the rockets offered in the sale were exorbitantly priced; besides which the new developments made in the rocket were not worth the price increase.

The Kuwaiti minister said that Kuwait will buy modern, advanced weapons from any source whatsoever directly without any intermediary. He said that this position falls within the framework of a Kuwaiti strategy which has been authorized and put into effect. This strategy will extend to air, ground, and naval rocket weapons as well as advanced aircraft.

With regard to Kuwait's rejection of the American offer, informed circles here say that the matter is not confined just to economic factors but also related to Kuwait's endeavor to inaugurate and firmly establish balanced relations in the international sphere.

In this connection, the Kuwaiti circles pointed out that Minister of Defense Salim Sabah al-Salim also announced that a Kuwaiti military delegation will travel to Moscow within approximately a month and a half to complete talks concerning Soviet military weapons and equipment. These talks were begun with senior military leaders in Moscow at the beginning of July.

The Kuwaiti minister denied reports by Western sources that Kuwait will sign new contracts for American weapons. He said that Kuwait wants very much to select for its forces those types of weapons that are suitable in terms of sophistication, usefulness, and the degree to which they coincide with Kuwait's strategy.

Salim Sabah al-Salim asserted that the Kuwaiti army has the capability to absorb modern weapons and that this capability has been tested in the Arab-Israeli wars on both the Egyptian and Syrian fronts and in Sinai and the Golan Heights. This capability has also been demonstrated through the formulation and execution of military plans and the execution of military maneuvers.

Kuwait's decision to reject the American rocket deal has caused resentment in some Western capitals and Washington. In interpreting this, some Kuwaiti sources have pointed out that Kuwait's rejection--besides establishing the pillars of a balanced Kuwaiti policy in the field of foreign affairs--also inaugurates in practical terms Kuwait's rejection of American propaganda alluding to Soviet threats facing the Persian Gulf area.

These sources add that the West feels concern at the possibility that the Gulf states could oppose the American rapid deployment forces with Soviet weapons.

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6 OCT 1981